AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIBRARY
Display Copy

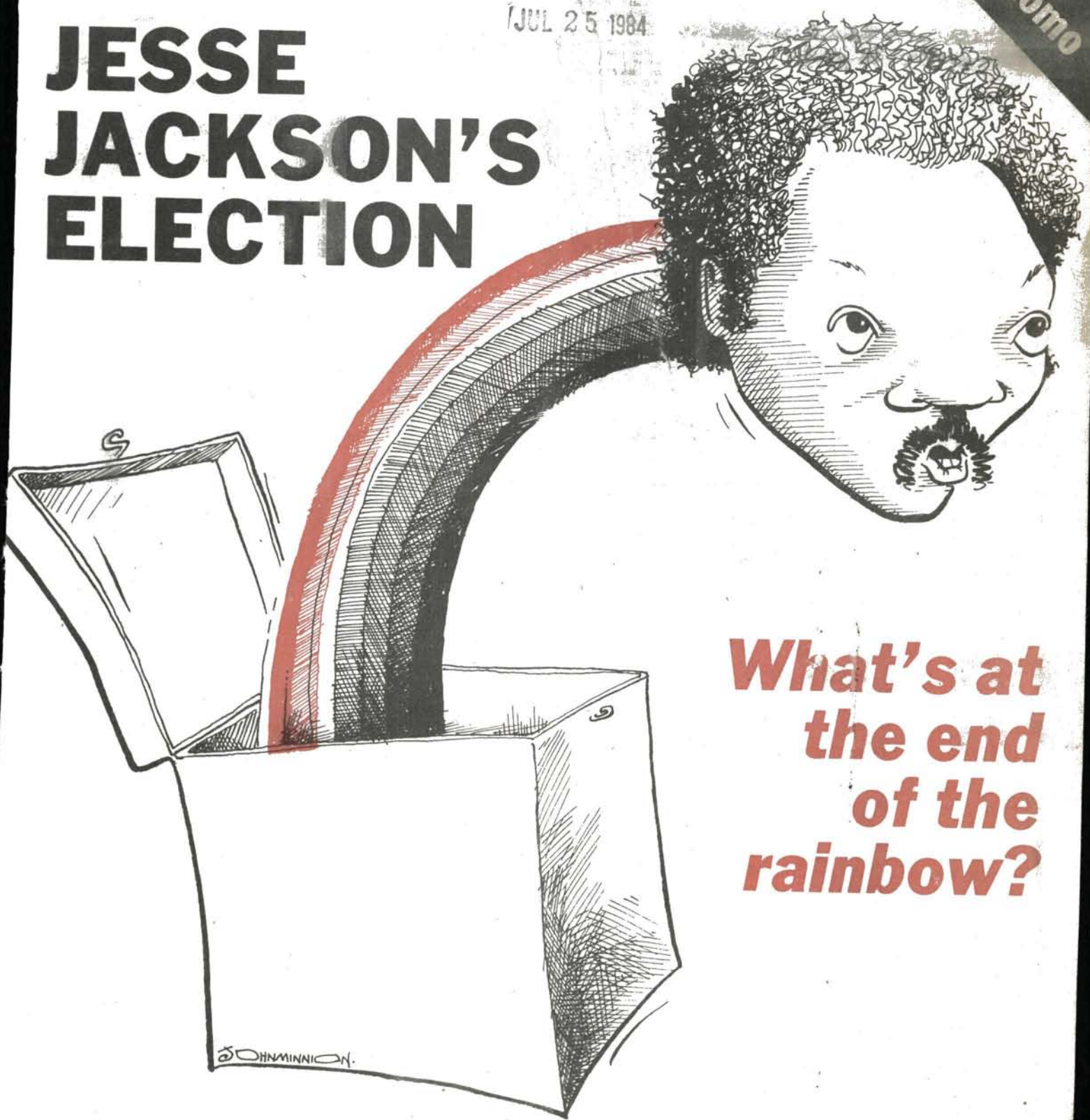
6 July 1984 70p IR£1.16 US$1.50 By Air

# New Statesman

David Caute reviews Joshua Nkomo

JUL 25 1984

# JESSE JACKSON'S ELECTION




## What's at the end of the rainbow?

**PLUS: Duncan Campbell on Star Wars • *Sun's* brief eclipse • détente from below • French fascism**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**New Statesman**

New Statesman
14-16 Farringdon Lane
London EC1R 3AU
Tel: 01-253 2001
Editorial: 01-253 2003
Telex: 28449
Cables: Newstat, London EC1
©1984 Statesman & Nation Publishing Company Ltd and contributors
Published and distributed by The Statesman & Nation Publishing Company Ltd

**Subscriptions:** Lesley Bridgmount, Cecilia Milton
**Circulation:** Liz Cooper, Tim Freeman
**Display advertisements:** Michael Roberts 01-253 2001
**Classified advertisements:** Laura Berryman, David Jones 01-251 5487

**Subscription Rates**
**Surface mail:**
**UK £32, Overseas £36**

**Air mail:**
Europe £36, Middle East £41, Africa, India, South America £45, Australasia, Far East £49, USA $79, Canada $92

Unsolicited manuscripts and artwork will only be returned if an SAE is enclosed.

**Commissions challenged**
Evelyn Ellis and George Appleby examine the poor record of the commissions for sexual and racial equality and suggest ways it could be improved p.8

**Beyond the rainbow**
Manning Marable praises the Rev. Jesse Jackson's stirring election campaign but suggests that the new Black Movement must go beyond vote-catching p.17

Cover drawing: John Minnion

**Cousins without knees**
David Caute reviews the autobiography of Joshua Nkomo and other accounts of Zimbabwe past and present p.23

**Hang your leader**
The Thatcher portrait, Brazilian art and Richard Wentworth's sculptures reviewed by John Spurling p.28

**News:** Profit motive stops contraceptive development; prison rule tightened; homes crisis for released prisoners; pension funds for jobs; nurseries' fate in the balance pp.4-6

**Peter Kellner:** How long will they lord it over the Commons? p.7
**This England** p.10
**Bob Dent:** Moscow travellers p.10
**Mark Hollingsworth:** Scargill's support from the *Sun* p.12
**Barry Hugill:** Joseph's lost crusade p.14
**Diary:** Islander p.16
**Roger Woddis** p.16
**Duncan Campbell:** Simple posturing over star wars p.19
**Paul Hainsworth:** The French National Front in perspective p.20
**Bretécher** p.21
**Letters** p.22
**Nicci Gerrard:** Resistance in Guatemala p.24
**Shorter reviews** p.25
**Barbara Taylor:** Peter Pan p.26
**Nigel Cross:** Edmund Gosse p.26
**Anthony Healy:** Poem p.27
**Marion Glastonbury:** Fiction p.27
**Hugo Williams:** Television p.29
**Naseem Khan:** Theatre p.30
**Anne Smith:** First person p.32
**Weekend Competition** p.32
**Salamanca** p.33
**Listings** p.35

**BIRKBECK COLLEGE**
**University of London**

**EVENING STUDY FOR A DEGREE OCTOBER 1984**

Birkbeck is a unique institution: a College of the University of London offering all its degree courses in the evening for people in daytime jobs. Lectures are held between 6 and 9 p.m.

Wide range of BA/BSc and MA/MSc courses as well as research supervision for MPhil and PhD degrees. This is a small selection of our MA/MSc courses — late applicants to be interviewed early September for admission October 1984.

**MA CLASSICAL CIVILISATION**
**MSc ECONOMICS**
**MA/MSc ECONOMIC & SOCIAL CHANGE IN BRITAIN 1870-1984**
**MA FRENCH/SPANISH**
**MSc URBAN & REGIONAL PLANNING**

MA courses in Classics, German and Hispanic Studies are run in collaboration with other Colleges.

**Details: Assistant Registrar, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HX. Tel: 01-637 9563 (direct line with answering machine outside office hours).**

**STUDENT SUBSCRIPTIONS**

Take advantage of our special summer subscription offer for students

**ONLY £5 FOR 15 WEEKS**

If you're in the UK throughout the summer (although we'll stretch a point and redirect up to 3 copies overseas for no extra charge).

**At 33p a copy that's less than half price**

If you intend to be overseas for more than 3 weeks, even for the whole 15, IT'S ONLY £6

Please complete this form and send it with your remittance to Lesley Bridgmount, **New Statesman** (SS84) Freepost, London EC1B 1EB.

Name/Address.....

.....

.....

.....

College.....

Subject.....Final Year.....



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Statesman Vol 108 No 2781 6 July 1984

# Still an anachronism

'WE WILL ALSO introduce an early Bill to abolish the legislative powers of the House of Lords.' These were the terms of Labour's manifesto commitment last June. It went with a promise that Labour would 'give local communities greater freedom to manage their own affairs'.

Wry amusement has been derived from the way in which this undemocratic, anachronistic and Tory dominated body last week prevented the democratic and Tory dominated House of Commons pushing through an Act of Parliament containing elements in clear violation of the spirit of the unwritten British constitution — abolishing statutory elections, replacing elected members of local authorities with nominees and changing the political control of many previously elected bodies by law in the process.

The House of Lords has successfully resisted Mrs Thatcher's elected dictatorship. It has shown the government to be not only autocratic but incompetent. It has made a complete fool of Environment Secretary Patrick Jenkin. It has given the GLC and the Met Counties an important stay of execution. But none of these admirable facts in any way dents Labour's previous conclusion — that the House of Lords is an undemocratic anachronism and should be abolished. Indeed, as Peter Kellner argues on page 7, the case for its abolition is in some ways made stronger by its triumph over the 'paving' Bill, because the memory of this week's plaudits might tempt it to resist some other part of the unwritten constitution.

But a commitment to abolish the House of Lords *tout court* is not by itself enough. Before the last election Labour had done no work on what ending the House of Lords's legislative functions would involve. There is no evidence that it has done any since. Until it does so, the commitment to abolish will ring as hollow as it did last time.

THE PROBLEM is not the House of Lords, but the House of Commons. All the pomp, circumstance and tradition that surrounds the Commons conceals the fact that it is the most inefficient and feeble legislative body in the democratic world. As the saga of the paving Bill has once again demonstrated, the House of Commons is totally dominated by the executive. With its present working hours and practices vital Bills can and do pass through all their stages in the Commons half digested, often with the most perfunctory consideration of the issues and principles involved.

When legislation is in committee and in the process of being amended it is almost impossible for outsiders (and often difficult even for MPs who are not on the committee concerned) to keep track of what is going on. The circus surrounding the Budget is only the worst example of how major legislative changes are sprung on the House and then pushed through without anything like adequate consideration.

Take Mr Lawson's first budget, for example. His government, his Prime Minister and his ministerial colleague, Kenneth Baker have long been committed to the rapid introduction of cable TV in this country. There are arguments against this policy which we have mainly supported. But several consortia went ahead and bid successfully for franchises. Then without warning or consultation along came Mr Lawson on budget day and killed cable TV by accident. He did it by abolishing companies' rights to write off capital investment against tax, thus rendering unviable the business plans of the consortia involved.

Equally, this session's Police Bill and the Data Protection Bill, for example, will have a massive effect on the United Kingdom for decades. By the inadequate standards of the House of Commons, quite a lot of time was devoted to both these measures. By the standards of any other Western legislature Parliament played almost no part in leading an informed public debate on the issues involved.

At present the condition of the House of Commons is at least tolerated because the House of Lords is there to act as a long stop. If the House of Commons has let through some crass mistake, the Lords can correct it. The further time that it takes for a Bill to get through the Lords provides some space for more public discussion of the issues and time for the government to be persuaded to change its mind. With the Lords gone there would be none of this and proposed legislation would receive even less consideration.

So a precondition of the abolition of the Lords is a major reform of the House of Commons. It would have to be accepted that being an MP is a full-time occupation. In order to create the extra legislative capacity the House, like most other democratic legislatures, would have to work in the morning, as well as the afternoon and evening. The important workings of the House — as opposed to the theatre of formal debate and Question Time — would have to be made transparent to the public. The Select Committees, which have always potentially been the weapon with which Parliament could re-establish some of its influence and authority against the government and the civil service, would have to be positively encouraged to expand their role and powers.

ALL THESE developments are easy to sketch out in principle. In practice, though, they would place constraints on the short-term freedom of action of the government of the day. Indeed, in the interests of better and more open government that is precisely what they are intended to do. Reforms of this kind are bitterly resisted by the civil service, which thinks that its job is easier if carried out to a great extent in secret, or at least out of the full glare of publicity, and whose instinctive reaction to reform is always to resist on the conservative grounds that 'one thing might lead to another'.

Any incoming Labour government would experience a parallel temptation to leave things as they are, whatever had been said about reform while in opposition. All the fine words in the past about more open government — reforming the Official Secrets Act, doing away with the secrecy of the lobby briefing system, giving more power to Parliament, allowing greater freedom to local authorities — have evaporated when Labour administrations have taken office.

There would be an additional requirement, if the House of Lords were abolished. The last constitutional barrier to the totally arbitrary power of any government able to 'whip' a majority in the House of Commons would have been removed. At this point a formal Bill of Rights (of the kind that guarantee the rights of individuals in written constitutions) would be required. There used to be an argument that in the United Kingdom such things were not needed. After the experience of Thatcherism, that is no longer so. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Profits bar to safe contraception

WOMEN are being deprived of a safe, cheap and effective alternative method of contraception because it isn't profitable for the drug companies to develop it.

Propranolol, a drug with numerous medical uses but developed initially to alter the heart rate for cardiac patients, has been shown to prevent sperm from fertilising eggs when placed in direct contact with them. This total lack of 'motility' makes it a far more effective spermicide than existing pessaries and, since it can be used in tablet form, is far less messy and unpleasant. (The value of existing gels and pessaries is so questionable that the Australian health authorities recommend the use of caps without them as being equally effective.)

But Propranolol's major advantage is that its effectiveness is comparable with that of the pill. A study in Chile by Dr Jaime Zipper on just under 200 women who had previously been using IUDs found a failure rate of 3.4/100 women per year. This compares very favourably with other types of contraception: pill (2/100), IUD (5/100) and cap and gel (15/100). Moreover, the protection given by the drug was shown to last at least ten hours. Women who inserted the tablet in the evening and had intercourse the following morning still had no motile sperm when samples were taken.

The drug therefore fills many of the requirements of an ideal contraceptive: it protects reliably against pregnancy, it is simple to administer and could be sold over the counter, it creates no mess, smell or irritation and, most important, it has been used by millions of patients over 20 years (for other reasons) with no apparent serious long term side effects.

So why isn't it in every Boots at this moment? The problem with Propranolol is that its patent has expired which means that a drug company could not recoup the large investment necessary to get it back on the market. Any company which undertook the necessary clinical trials to confirm its effectiveness as a contraceptive and to obtain a licence for this use, would only invite uncontrolled competition.

ICI, the original patent holders, are not interested in pursuing such clinical studies. An ICI spokesperson said that other projects took precedence and that the company lacked experience in the field of fertility control.

One possible solution is to repackage the drug in a different delivery system — a bullet shaped capsule, for example — which would be patentable. Smith and Nephew Pharmaceuticals has shown an interest in this, but, in fact, such a system would probably only be marginally more efficient.

Even if development takes this form, Dr Tayob of the Margaret Pyke Centre in London estimates that the time lag to production will be at least five years. He is currently establishing how soon after insertion and for how long protection is effective. But all his pilot work has to take place on sterilized women as unwanted pregnancies generated by this type of research are deemed unacceptable. Finding such volunteers is difficult. So the most exciting recent development in contraception might not be widely available until the 1990s.

**Andrew Pomiankowski**

*Jane McIntosh*

# Occupation miners sacked

*This occupation of Betteshanger colliery in Kent has resulted in the sacking by the Coal Board of 29 men because of their involvement. A further 10 from the nearby Tilmanstone pit have also been sacked for taking part in a brief occupation there. The Betteshanger occupation successfully prevented two strike breaking miners (the name of one of them, McGibbon, is scrawled on the water tower) from returning to work and showed that the pit is in a satisfactory condition. The Coal Board had claimed it was deteriorating through disuse. One of those sacked, local NUM secretary Terry Harrison, said: 'After 30 years in the industry, I was sacked by a man who has been in his job for six months.'* ●

# Women's hospital camp

Protestors in occupation at South London Hospital for Women, have been camping in the outpatients department since they entered the hospital in a well-planned take-over last Friday.

A core of about a dozen people is maintaining the 24-hour sit-in, with help from National Union of Public Employees staff who voted to back the occupation. The action is a last-ditch attempt to save the hospital from closure and is part of campaign which includes demonstrations and petitions.

It is the only women's general hospital in the country where women are treated by women. But it is under threat because Wandsworth District Health Authority needs to save £4 million to plough into other services, such as expanding the huge St George's Hospital in nearby Tooting.

An 18-month campaign to keep open the South London Hospital, involving women peers and MPs, women's institutes, the Mothers Union and even the European Parliament has failed to convince the Government to cough up the extra cash and admissions are due to cease from next Monday (9 July).

The protestors aim to stop the authority moving patients and equipment to other hospitals in the area.

**Jane Pickard**

# Tax tussle nurseries decision in the balance

THE FATE of employer-subsidised nurseries — threatened with closure because the Inland Revenue decided to treat them as a 'perk' and tax parents on the subsidy — now hangs in the balance.

In an attempt to free workplace nurseries from the Revenue's grasp Terry Davis, Labour MP for Birmingham Hodge Hill, hopes to move an amendment to the Finance Bill early next week. The new clause would make the nurseries, like pension contributions, exempt from taxation — provided the facility was available to all employees' children.

The amendment is backed by Labour and some Tory MPs. But the Workplace Nurseries Campaign — set up in March to fight the Inland Revenue decision — is unsure about the general Conservative position on the amendment and fears that it might be lost if too few Labour members are still in the Commons in the early hours of the morning, the time when it is likely to be debated.

In deciding, earlier this year, to treat employer-subsidised nurseries as a taxable benefit in kind, the Revenue interpreted the 1976 Finance Act in a way never intended by the Labour Government which introduced it to clamp down on perks like company cars.

The Revenue's decision came to light when employees of NALGO were told that they would be taxed on NALGO's contribution to ten places at London's Kingsway nursery. NALGO was also asked to pay a large sum in back tax. The NALGO parents each faced paying over £200 monthly towards each nursery place — double their current childcare bill. As few could afford that, Kingsway was plunged into crisis. Any employee earning more than £8,500 — including their employer's subsidy — was made liable for taxation.

The Revenue stands to gain little from its action. If the amendment fails to go through and parents cannot meet the tax demand, Kingsway and other nurseries are expected to close.

Kingsway is the only nursery directly affected so far. The nurseries campaign believes that the Revenue has avoided demanding the tax from other employees because of the opposition generated already. Many MPs and organisations, including the Equal Opportunities Commission, wrote to the Treasury and the Revenue protesting at the decision.

If Davis succeeds in moving his amendment — an uncertainty in itself — there is a good chance of it being passed. Otherwise the Revenue will have struck a fatal blow against the whole concept of subsidised childcare. **Annette Gartland**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Home Office tightens the screws

MORE PRISON cells are being set aside for use as solitary confinement for 'subversive' prisoners, following a recent prison department circular.

The circular is an amendment to an instruction issued in 1974 which allows governors of the top security 'dispersal' prisons to transfer troublesome prisoners to local prisons for up to 28 days solitary confinement. The amendment allows for over three times more these cells as previously.

The original instructions allowed for 14 such cells — two for each of the then seven dispersal prisons. The limit was then 14 days, which has subsequently been doubled. Now, there will be 50 cells available, with Gartree (seven) and Long Lartin (six) having the most.

The amendment follows complaints at a dispersal prisons seminar in Wakefield last June that too few such cells were available. It also coincides with the discussions of the Control Review Committee established last year to 'review the maintenance of control in the prison system', which has now completed its report.

The massive increase in such cells indicates an expected increase in the use of solitary confinement. Solitary confinement can be used in conjunction with the Prison Rule 43 which allows for 'troublesome' prisoners to be put in solitary confinement for the purpose of maintaining 'good order and discipline'. The great advantage of Rule 43 for the authorities is that no offence need be committed or proved and no adjudication procedure is required. Although the instruction lays down a limit of 28 days, the limit in practice is flexible. Irish Republican Steve Blake was transferred from Albany on 25 May 1983 and is still in solitary confinement in Wakefield.

The increased rights of prisoners in relation to legal representation in internal hearings and the recent Strasbourg judgment will make the use of Rule 43 more attractive than ever. The courts have repeatedly refused to intervene on this issue on the grounds that it is an administrative matter. The Home Office denies that such use of solitary confinement is a punishment and therefore the procedure bypasses any possibility of outside intervention.

**Terry O'Halloran**

# Homes crisis for prisoners on parole

NEW PAROLE rules introduced this week have eased the pressure on overcrowded prisons but have caused an accommodation crisis outside.

Over 2,000 prisoners were released on Monday because the qualification period for parole has dropped from 19½ to 10½ months, and Parole Boards are now expected to rule in favour of parole unless good reasons can be shown why not. One of those reasons is homelessness, as those being granted parole are expected to have a home to go to.

But Jim Battle of Shelter, the campaign for the homeless, warns: 'The accommodation prisoners obtain is often temporary: bed and breakfast hotels, hostels or expensive private rented bedsits. Within a week or two they can find themselves homeless.' Up to half the people discharged from prison have a housing problem and councils do not accept ex-prisoners as a priority group.

NACRO, the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders, while welcoming the reduction in prison numbers, is equally concerned: 'The link between homelessness and re-offending has been proved beyond doubt. The whole object of the exercise will be defeated if the people being granted parole simply find themselves back inside again.' A recent NACRO report showed that in a survey of 500 young people from a West Midlands remand centre those that were homeless were twice as likely to be reconvicted as those with homes.

NACRO is asking for more housing aid services to be provided in prisons and for the financing of more hostel places. In fact, the Home Office has given funds to provide 3,800 places in just such a programme, but no new hostels are being started because of a moratorium on such spending introduced last year. The long-term effect of the new parole rules is equally worrying because an extra 150 prisoners per week are likely to be released over the next year.

● The new regulations coincide with the publication of a Home Office Green Paper on part-time prison sentences, about which the Home Secretary is said to be enthusiastic.

But the idea of week-end prison sentences has been condemned by the Prison Reform Trust, among others, as costly and likely to increase the number of people in prison.

**Christian Wolmar**

# MISCELLANY

## Tories Against Pit Cuts

Although a recent by-election made Labour the largest party on Lothian council, the Tories are still in control with the support of three Liberal/SDP Alliance councillors. But the miners' strike has disturbed this delicate balance of power. Last week the Labour group put forward a motion to give £10,000 to the Miners' Women's Support Group in Lothian. Much to the annoyance of his colleagues, Tory councillor David Thompson delivered a passionate speech about the hardship being caused by the strike and paid tribute to the miners for coming to the aid of people in need in his area. He was joined in his rebellion by one of the SDP councillors, the Rev. Ross McLaren, who also voted for Labour's motion, ensuring it was passed. The other SDP councillor, Melville Gray, and the Liberal, Donald Gorrie, did not appear to believe that miners' families needed any help.

## Thou shalt not give

The Christian principle of giving was unfamiliar, too, to police on duty at the Billy Graham Crusade at Birmingham Villa Park stadium last Saturday. No sooner had two miners — from the Lea Hall colliery at Rugeley, Staffs, where 200 are on strike — produced their collecting buckets than they were moved on by police. They have a permit to collect in Birmingham only on weekdays, but one of the strikers said: 'I didn't expect to be treated like that here. But this lot (the police) haven't heard of Christianity.' The miners are Christians themselves and said they were thinking of coming later in the week to see Graham preach.

## Seeing connections

Apart from the Militant tendency and the Socialist Workers' Party, which everyone assumes are collecting assiduously for their own coffers, collecting money to save miners' families from starvation is an eye-opening lesson in solidarity. Our Christian miners from Rugeley reported that earlier connections in Wolverhampton had been very successful, mainly thanks to the non-white community. One said: 'The Asians have been fantastic. They always give something as they pass us.' Tony Benn's observation at the GLC anti-racism rally that striking miners were seeing how black people fare at the hands of the police is only half the story.

## Energy surplus

On the other side of the miners' dispute, hunger is also never far away. Energy Minister Peter Walker was spotted in a Westminster delicatessen this week. He bought a piece of pizza, a meat pie and a meat samosa to put in his microwave oven and two big strawberry tarts. He paid with a £10 note from a wad of at least £200, then got into his Mercedes and drove off.

## Good-as-New Society

Management at IPC Magazines is using the current long pay dispute as an excuse to rid itself of various profitable titles (as opposed to the *very* profitable ones which it wants to keep). Much has been made of the closure of *Titbits* ('the end of an era'), but *Tammy* has also gone, and so has *Scream* and the romantic monthlies *Hers* and *True*. The latest victim is *New Society*, which has been put up for sale as its reward for not coming out last week. IPC journalists want 12 per cent; they have been offered 7; IPC profits last year rose 40 per cent. But who wants to buy a weekly magazine with a claimed circulation of 25,000, and financially dependent on the contracting market for social work job advertisements? 'Lots of people, actually,' says editor Paul Barker. And he should know, as he is one of them. 'We have been talking on and off to Paul Barker,' admits IPC chairperson and chief executive Ron Chiltern. And how much would IPC be selling *New Society*, expected to make a 'modest' profit this year, for? 'To Paul Barker for a nominal sum,' says Chiltern. 'To Robert Maxwell for as much as I can get.'

## Miscellany 95

The *Observer* is already embroiled in one Official Secrets case where charges are being pressed. Presumably another top level leak enquiry involving the serious crimes squad has now been launched to discover who leaked papers concerned with Cabinet Committee Misc (for Miscellaneous) 95 to Adam Raphael, the paper's political editor. The committee is chaired by man of the moment, Environment Secretary Patrick Jenkin. Raphael was able to reveal last Sunday that Jenkin had written a note to Bossy Roberts arguing that to allow the existing GLC and met county councils to stay in office until they are abolished was a course that 'our own supporters and wider public would find incomprehensible'. Raphael was also able to reveal that she was not convinced. 'The Prime Minister prefers deferment of the May 1985 elections of the GLC and MCCs . . . to substitution', her private secretary replied. So, last week, did the House of Lords. We look forward to news of how this leak enquiry is progressing. Or is it one law for leaks that make the Prime Minister look wise and another for the rest?



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Peace protests roll call (4)

*Our regular round-up of arrests of peace protesters features London this month. New information should be sent to Janey Hulme at the* New Statesman.

**London** **Total arrested to date: 1664**

*Cenotaph* **28**
13.11.83. 28 arrested during Rememberance Day service. Charged with insulting behaviour, 'insulting spoken words', 'insulting written words' and obstruction. 15 at Bow Street acquitted, 9 at Highbury Corner found guilty, most cond. discharged or bound over. Appealing.

*Cenotaph* **7**
16.11.83. 7 arrested at Cenotaph during silent vigil. Charged with insulting behaviour. 1 'absent' at hearing, another away. Remaining 5 found guilty of insulting behaviour — 1 yr suspended sentence with £25 costs. Appealing.

*Parliament Street* **18**
16.11.83. 18 arrested. 12 charged at Lambeth police station with Obstr. free passage along highway and 'Wilfully disregarding the directions of the commissioner of the Metropolis'. 6 charged at Bow Street with the latter but their other charge changed to Obstr. of police officer. 12 fined £10 at Highbury Mag. 5 fined £15 at Marylebone Mag. A remaining woman was excused fine, although found guilty, because of her age.

*London Peace Camp* **7**
Set up 13.12.82. Vigil in St. Margarets Churchyard when cruise debate was taking place in parliament. 7 arrested charged with obstruction. All cond. discharge.

*Trafalgar Square demo* **2**
29.3.84. 2 arrests. 1 obstruction to highway, 1 obstruction of police officer. Hearing 17.4.84. 1 pleaded guilty £20 fine no costs. 1 pleaded not guilty. Hearing 7.8 at Horseferry magistrates.

*St Martins-in-the-Field* **4**
29.3.84. 4 people arrested when driver tooted horn in support of a group of CND supporters surrounded by police on steps of St. Martins. Driver charged with breach of the peace and insulting behaviour. Charges dropped as no evidence offered at hearing.

*Stop the City* **393**
29.3.84. 393 arrests. Details to come.

*Greenham Women Everywhere demo* **30**
7.4.84. 30 arrests. Obstruction of highway.

*Stop the City* **110**
31.5.84. 170 arrested. Various charges mainly Cr. Dam & Wilf. Obstr.

*Lancaster House* **7**
8.6.84. 7 Christian CND members arrested (including a woman in a wheelchair). All detained at Bow Street.

*Lancaster House/Oxford Street* **200**
9.6.84. 200 CND protestors arrested. 45 held and charged others released.

*US Embassy* **4**
9.6.84. 3 American women and 1 British woman arrested for spraying steps and lobby of US embassy. Held overnight & charged with Cr.Dam. Released on bail. Hearing June 18 at Marlborough St. Court.

*MOD* **7**
11.6.84. 7 Faslane Peace Campers arrested for spraying red paint at Ministry of Defence office. Charged with Cr.Dam. at Bow Street.

*Big Ben* **5**
11.6.84. 5 Greenpeace members arrested after 2 climbed Big Ben in protst about nuclear weapons testing. 2 fined £25 at Bow St & 2 fined £20 and bound over to keep the peace for one year. George Pritchard, the co-ordinator of the action, was also bound over to keep the peace for 1 yr in the sum of £250.

*Catholic Peace Action* (update & correction) **30**
11.10.83. 4 arrested at MoD London and charged with behaviour likely to cause breach of the peace. Hearing 22.12.83. Found guilty. All refused to be bound over to keep the peace and were then ordered to be bound over and to sign a recognizance form. 2 signed. Other 2 sentenced to 7 days in prison over Xmas period.
14.4.83. 4 arrested for pouring own blood and ashes on steps at entrance to MoD. All given a cond. discharge.
7.3.84. 4 arrested at MoD and charged with criminal damage and 'marking walls without the occupants permission'. Hearing date 8.6.84.
3.5.84. 9 persons arrested outside MoD. Charged with Br. of Peace & Obstr. of Police. Hearing 18 June at Bow St. (For the first time two nuns will be on trial, Sister Doreen Tobin and Sister Elizabeth Yates).
At Horseferry Rd. Magistrates on June 8 Sarah Hipperson, & Dr. Ray Towey were sent to prison for 7 days. Carmel Martin was given 7 days or 7 days to pay £50 fine. A fourth CPA member was given 28 days to pay his £50 fine.

*Melanie Friend*

# A fence too far for 300

*Smile, please. Over 300 peace protestors broke through to the inner fence at the Chilwell army base which was handed over to the US in February. Clearly their action has been recorded for posterity by the Army. Chilwell, near Nottingham, is very different from other US bases as it is surrounded by housing and schools which protestors feel makes it unsuitable for use as an arms dump. The local Reclaim Chilwell Group organised the weekend's mass trespass after it discovered that the base is to be used as storage for 1,500 military vehicles which, according to defence minister John Lee, will be 'for use in support of the US Air Force's commitment to NATO'. Sunday's protest attracted over 4,000 people and protestors succeeded in breaking through the outer perimeter. Ministry of Defence police arrested 150 people but only 11 are expected to be charged, mainly with criminal damage.*

**Christian Wolmar**

# Cash for jobs sought from pension funds

ELEVEN Labour local authorities are financing a pensions and investment resource centre to try to find ways of ensuring that their pension funds will not be invested in companies which are anti-union or making redundancies.

The GLC, all the metropolitan county councils except South Yorkshire, Sheffield, and four London boroughs hope the resource centre will help them to channel money into companies that will create jobs and bring them to their areas.

Local authorities control £15 billion of the £100 billion currently swilling about in pension funds. As trustees of the funds, they cannot take investment decisions which might imperil the ability of the funds to pay future pensions. The quest, therefore, is for companies that both produce healthy profits and are good employers.

The authorities plan to set up regional unit trusts which will make it easier for pension funds to invest in unquoted companies in their own areas. One such trust, the London Development Capital Fund, which will only invest on socially responsible criteria and only in unquoted London companies, has already been established and intends to approach pension funds for investment money next month.

In the US, surprisingly, 'socially responsible investment', as it is known, is far more readily accepted. Professor Robert Schwartz, a vice-president of Shearson/American Express and who spoke at a recent pension fund conference in London, has been devising investment portfolios for people who want to steer their money into 'clean' companies since the 1960s. He began by pulling out his own money from companies involved in Vietnam.

Schwartz is currently setting up an investment fund which will only provide investment to companies that recognise unions, provide safe working conditions and have positive action programmes for minorities.

American unions have used their power as shareholders to force companies to mend their ways. The textile company, J.P. Stevens, was pressured into recognising the garment workers' union by action at shareholders' meetings.

In the UK there has been some success in getting pension funds to stop investing in South Africa, but the miners' union failed to get the Coal Board pension fund to change its investment strategy (*NS* 20 April).

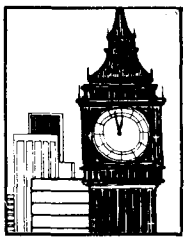
The Labour councils which have been meeting for the last two years reckon the key to changing corporate strategy is co-ordinated action. If all their pension funds withdrew investment in a company because it was, for example, tendering for hospital contracts on a basis that undercut wage rates, it could serve as a warning to other companies. Alternatively, pension funds could combine to force changes at shareholders' meetings.

The major Labour councils control substantial sums. The largest is the £700 million administered by the Greater London Council. So far, little has been achieved, though an attempt was made to collect enough pension fund support to call an extraordinary meeting of Metal Box at the time when it announced massive lay-offs.

**Geraldine Hackett**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



**PETER KELLNER** Political Editor

# A great victory? Try peering into the future

IT WAS FUN while it lasted: the sight of unelected peers leaping to defend the electoral rights of Londoners and other city-dwellers; and of the two Conservative-dominated Houses of Parliament at each other's throats. The moment when that ermine-clad spanner crashed into Mrs Thatcher's crummy works down the corridor was certainly a joy.

We must not, however, get carried away. In two years' time the Lords vote to amend the local government paving bill is likely to be irrelevant to the administration of urban England. The government may be forced to change its route, but the destination remains the same: abolition of the GLC and the other metropolitan counties. The Lords vote has other implications — and they are far from helpful to the Left.

Indeed, anyone with a really devious cast of mind and a determination to prevent socialist policies from being implemented would surely be encouraged by what has happened. The House of Lords has been seen to assert its power to thwart the 'anti-democratic' wishes of the Commons; and the Left has cheered its decision. What a precedent! The humiliation of Patrick Jenkin and the temporary embarrassment of Mrs Thatcher would be a price well worth paying to further the greater cause of building up the Lords as a bulwark against some future 'anti-democratic' Labour government.

It would be going too far to suggest that such was the government's game-plan all along. Politicians are, on the whole, neither that sinister nor that cunning. But the only alternative explanation is no kinder to ministers: they bungled things in every conceivable way. Before discussing the ambiguous constitutional consequences of the Lords vote, it is worth reviewing the less ambiguous ministerial cock-up.

The Conservatives started out with a strong hand. Their election manifesto last year stated their intentions clearly:

> The Metropolitan Councils and the Greater London Council have been shown to be a wasteful and unnecessary tier of government. We shall abolish them and return most of their functions to the boroughs and districts.

Irrespective of the merits of that policy, it is undeniable that it formed part of the manifesto on which the Tories won their massive victory, including winning a clear majority of seats in London. And, for once, the argument that most votes were cast against the government does not help us here: the abolition of these councils also formed part of the Liberal/SDP Alliance manifesto. Only Labour supported the retention of the GLC and only one London voter in three voted Labour.

There can, then, be no doubt that 'the doctrine of the mandate' would — and will — apply to the Lords when the main abolition bill comes to be debated. This doctrine was established after Labour's 1945 victory. Its essence is that the Lords shall not block measures announced in the government's manifesto at the previous election. Other measures, though, are fair game; and it is into this category that the paving bill falls.

The first mistake, then, that the government made was to introduce the bill without saying in the Tory manifesto that it would do so. Its second mistake was to design one of the very few kinds of bill that the Lords have the power to kill. In principle, the Lords have only the power of delay. If they reject legislation proposed by the Commons, MPs can insist that the bill pass into law — but not until 13 months and one day after the Commons second reading. The second reading of the paving bill took place on 11 April. Thirteen months and one day will take us to 12 May next year — one week after the county elections are due to be held. Since the main purpose of the bill is to scrap those elections, peers suddenly found that their constitutional pea-shooter had the destructive power of a nuclear weapon.

IN RETROSPECT, ministers must wish that they had sorted out a lot earlier exactly what they wanted to do after dismantling the metropolitan counties. Then they could have synchronised abolition with the end of the present councils' four-year term next May and, following the 'doctrine of the mandate', their abolition bill would have had no trouble from the Lords.

As it is, Mr Jenkin has egg on his face and the Lords have a new lease of life. Let us project things forward a few years — to a Labour government committed to socialist change. The Telecommunications (Renationalisation) Bill — foreshadowed in Neil Kinnock's succinct and electorally effective 1987 manifesto — has completed its Commons stages, and is now before the Lords. Lord Gummer, made a life peer in 1986 as a consolation for his dismissal as Conservative Party chairman, rises to speak:

> Noble lords, the amendment that I am moving has been described as a 'wrecking amendment' by government ministers and as a departure from the doctrine of mandate. On the contrary, I assert that what we are doing is upholding the special duty of this House to defend the basic rights of our citizens — a duty which the Labour Party was so quick to proclaim back in 1984.
>
> My noble friends and I acknowledge that the Telecommunications (Renationalisation) Bill was promised in Labour's 1987 manifesto. What was not promised, or threatened, was the woefully inadequate price that the government is now proposing to pay to reacquire British Telecom shares. Nor did the manifesto state that shareholders would be paid in five annual instalments, rather than immediately on renationalisation.
>
> Our amendment does not seek to prevent renationalisation. It seeks merely to ensure that the right price is paid and that it is paid at the right time. Ministers have said in another place that, if our amendment succeeds today, it would undermine the government's financial policies, throw the money markets into confusion and cause interest rates to rise by at least two per cent. I say to ministers that they should have thought of all that when drafting their bill. It is their fault, not ours.

Fanciful? Possibly, but the precedents are not encouraging. On three important occasions the Lords have passed wrecking amendments which have stopped Labour governments passing bills during the intended parliamentary sessions: the House of Commons (Redistribution of Seats) (No. 2) Bill in 1969; the Trade Union and Labour Relations Bill in 1975; and the Aircraft and Shipbuilding Act in 1975. (The second and third of those bills were revived in the following sessions and only then became law.) During the debate on the Trade Union and Labour Relations Bill, Lord Carrington carefully redefined the Tory view of the doctrine of mandate:

> In our system we have hitherto taken the view that the will of the elected House must in the end prevail, but that there should be a second House which has the opportunity — in rare cases, perhaps — to enforce a delay in which there can be a reassessment by government, by parties and by the people of this country of the rights and wrongs of an issue.

Such sentiments, of course, fit last week's vote precisely. But, by the same token, they could apply to any attempt to impede the implementation of a Labour manifesto. The crucial point is that any bill contains dozens, sometimes hundreds, of specific elements, even though the overall intention may be simply to carry out a two-line manifesto promise. It is never difficult to pick on some particular detail and say: '*That* wasn't in the manifesto'.

So what is Labour's answer? If it repeats the promise it made last year, it will introduce a new Parliament Bill to remove the House of Lords's right to delay legislation, as a first step towards the eventual aim of abolition. Such a bill could, itself, clog up Parliament for months. With all the other urgent tasks that an incoming Labour government will face, my guess is that Lords reform will be nowhere near a top priority. In which case the unpredictable actions of a handful of gaga backwoodsmen will continue to influence our lives. So enjoy the sweet taste of last week's victory while you may; next time the chalice will be poisoned. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEX AND RACE

# Commissions undone

**Evelyn Ellis and George Appleby examine the record of the Commission for Racial Equality and the Equal Opportunities Commission**

WHEN PARLIAMENT created the Equal Opportunities Commission and re-fashioned the Race Relations Board into the Commission for Racial Equality it seemed to herald a brave new era in public policy and the law. The old Race Relations Board, most people agreed, had not worked well: now there were to be new powers for both Commissions to make public policy against discrimination effective. They would be able to assist individuals to make complaints and, potentially more far-reaching, they would be able to launch investigations into State or business enterprises and, if they found discrimination, to issue a notice forbidding it.

Yet despite these new powers, neither Commission has emerged as a forceful champion of those who are the victims of discrimination. While this raises the fundamental question of whether a State body can be explicitly partisan on behalf of those who don't have State or economic power, there are more immediate questions to be asked. Even within the more narrow confines of what Parliament hoped the Commissions might do, have they exploited their powers to the full?

From the beginning there were criticisms that the powers to launch formal investigations were not tough enough, the remedies ineffectual and the safeguards for the 'accused' were so extensive that they could weaken the whole procedure. On the other hand, in 1978 the then Master of the Rolls, Lord Denning, said of the formal investigation powers: 'They were immense . . . you might think we were back in the days of the Inquisition . . . They demand to see documents made in confidence and to compel breaches of good faith — which is owed to persons who are not parties to the proceedings at all. You might think we were back in the days of General Warrants.'

Of course, law enforcement was not the only purpose of the two Acts setting up the Commissions. Each Commission has three main tasks: to work towards the elimination of discrimination; to promote equality of opportunity and (in the case of the CRE) to promote good relations between persons of different racial groups; to keep the working of the Acts under review and submit proposals for amending them. Thus it appeared to be Parliament's intention that the Commissions should divide their time between the educational role of changing attitudes and that of being a law enforcement agency.

Soon after they were created — the EOC in December 1975 and the CRE in June 1977 — it became clear that their enforcement powers were tightly hedged in by technicalities and complications. By 1982, the same Lord Denning was saying he was 'very sorry for the Commission (for Racial Equality), but they have been caught up in a spider's web spun by Parliament from which there is little hope of their escaping'. The machinery of the Act was, he said, 'in danger of grinding to a halt.'

At the beginning of 1983 we decided to research into the working of the formal investigation procedure primarily from the point of view of lawyers. We wished to talk to members of staff of both Commissions to try to understand how the system worked in practice. In the case of the CRE, our requests for interviews were met with complete co-operation in both London and Birmingham.

However, despite many letters to them, the EOC were at first evasive and finally rejected our request for an interview, so that we were unable to speak to the relevant persons. For reasons that it kept to itself, we were eventually told on the telephone that the Commission 'did not consider it expedient to talk' at this juncture. A final letter to the chairperson, Lady Platt, received the reply that she was out of the country. While very disappointed — a public body funded by taxpayers' money ought not to operate behind completely locked doors — we decided to go ahead using other sources.*

OF ALL THE powers vested in the Commissions, that of carrying out a formal investigation is the potentially most far-reaching, because it can establish whether discrimination is built into the very structure of an establishment's practice as employer, or in providing a service. Of the two Commissions, the record of the CRE is far more substantial partly because, as successor to the Race Relations Board, the CRE inherited some expertise. Since October 1977 the CRE has started 46 investigations, 27 of which were begun in the first 15 months. Fieldwork has now been completed on all investigations and reports on 30 have been published. Four investigations have been discontinued for various reasons and reports on 12 are awaited.

In 1981 an inquiry into the CRE by the Home Affairs Committee of the House of Commons suggested, amongst various criticisms, that the CRE had not taken on enough large organisations. As a result of these comments, the CRE began a number of new investigations.

A more serious challenge to the CRE came in the courts. The Race Relations Act provides numerous checks on the Commission's powers — and persons suspected by the Commission of discriminatory practice began to make full use of them. One of the first was the Home Office itself, which took the CRE to the High Court to stop it investigating the government's immigration policies. At issue was the Commission's right to examine Home Office documents and conduct sample surveys of cases of refusal of entry into the UK. The court held that, although the CRE had the power to conduct investigations into the field of immigration, it had no power to demand the relevant documents without the consent of the Home Secretary.

Then came the decision of the House of Lords in the Hillingdon Borough Council case. The CRE suspected that the Council's policy on housing immigrants who had recently arrived at Heathrow was racially discriminatory. In order to investigate this belief it wanted to examine the Council's whole housing policy. But the legislation distinguishes between a 'belief' investigation (where a discriminatory practice is suspected) and a 'general' investigation, conducted simply to find out what an establishment's practice is. The Lords ruled that in a 'belief' investigation, like Hillingdon, only the specific 'suspected' practice could be investigated, i.e. not the council's whole housing policy.

As a result of this ruling, the Commission had to re-start a number of its investigations which were well underway and to discontinue certain others. In 1982 in a case involving Amari Plastics, the Court of Appeal ruled that the recipient of a non-discrimination notice could appeal, not only against the requirement in the notice, but against the issue of the notice itself. At that time every single non-discrimination notice which had been issued was the subject of an appeal.

As a result of these rulings, it took longer and longer to complete any investigation, undermining the CRE's will to carry them through and to initiate any more. The courts' interpretation of the legislation, in practice, made the Commission's task almost unworkable. The CRE now proposes wide-ranging changes in the Act, many of which are designed to streamline the procedure and enable the CRE to use its power effectively.

In the meantime, the CRE seems to have decided to undertake no new investigations and to content itself with trying to complete the eight investigations still continuing, most of which have lasted five years. Now the policy seems to be to settle on the most satisfactory terms which can be reached by compromise.

THE TRACK record of the EOC looks very different. Far from being bogged down by too many investigations with no coherent pattern to them, it has begun an extraordinarily small number of them — nine in nine years, one of which has been abandoned. During the past four years only two investigations have got off the ground. In 1982 it neither completed nor initiated a single investigation. Reports of investigations have been published in only four cases and only one non-discrimination notice has ever been issued. In fact, so slow was the progress of the Commission in 1977 that the then Home Secretary, Merlyn Rees, visited the EOC and demanded, apparently in no uncertain terms, a much firmer law enforcement policy.

Not all the causes of this poor showing are the fault of the EOC. It was set up hastily and had a ▷

*The full text of our research appeared in the June issue of *Public Law*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# WEEKEND PLAYHOUSE

London Weekend Television is presenting a series of seven new plays for Sunday nights on ITV. There's a thriller, some comedies, marital disharmony, hang-gliding and the D.H.S.S. The first stars Bob Hoskins as Eddie Reed, a cripple with an overwhelming ambition to be airborne, in

**YOU DON'T HAVE TO WALK TO FLY**

**SUNDAY** LWT London Weekend Television **NIGHT AT TEN**

Surprises for everyone when Arthur and Nancy take their shy young daughter to a suburban hotel where they hope she will find romance and marriage.

**SINGLES WEEKEND**

starring Peter Jones, Pat Heywood, Brenda Blethyn and Griff Rhys Jones

Ed moves into the spare room in Carol's house, but unexpected complications arise when the Department of Health and Social Security starts to make inquiries.

**AS MAN AND WIFE**

starring Michael Kitchen and Dina Stabb

A recital by Olive and Daphne leads to dramatic changes in their lives.

**GRAND DUO**

starring Prunella Scales, Judy Parfitt, Anthony Bate and Bernard Horsfall

A sculptor's favourite model is befriended by a young American couple, who tell her they are preparing a thesis on the artist's work, but they have a more sinister purpose.

**NOT THAT KIND OF PEOPLE**

starring Gwen Watford and Richard Pearson

Dominic's and Sarah's extra-marital affair does not go as planned in

**CHANGE PARTNERS**

starring Peter McEnery, Anna Carteret, Michael Byrne and Heather Sears

Susan finds herself unable to face the double grief of a tragic accident and a broken love affair, but she has reckoned without her family.

**WINTER BREAK**

starring Sharon Duce and Brenda Bruce




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

completely new job to learn, yet the government did not provide it with an adequate legal department for the first few years of its life. In addition, the EOC has deliberately chosen to act by persuasion rather than by cracking its legal whip. This undoubtedly short-circuits the legal complexities, but depends wholly on the co-operativeness of the subject. The settlements produced are private, getting little publicity and having little deterrent value.

But there is a noticeable lack of direction within the Commission itself. Although some Commissioners clearly regard law enforcement as of over-riding importance, others feel it to be merely one of a number of equally important functions. Even among those who would give a high priority to investigations, there appear to be serious splits of opinion over policy in selecting and conducting investigations. This can be seen in the lack of investigations into employment practice, where an outside State body would be seen to be intervening in the world of industrial relations in which both employment and union practices assume a sexual division of labour. On the Commission there are always three Commissioners with a management background and three who represent trade unions. Neither side would have an interest in an investigation which has significant repercussions in industrial relations and none has been launched.

As this government supports the appointment of Commissioners who are likely to adopt a conciliatory approach to influential figures and institutions in industry, the policy of non-intervention is likely to continue.

It is not surprising, then, that a body which does not want to exercise power should also lack a coherent strategy. It needs a clear set of priorities when deciding whether to launch a formal investigation or whether to take the quicker, cheaper but less far-reaching measure of supporting an individual complaint. It should, we think, investigate only where an important principle is at stake, but not where the investigation will be so large and cumbersome that it will take years to complete — getting overtaken by events on the way. With a clear policy of its own, the EOC can avoid having its priorities dictated by outside bodies. It should also, of course, be meticulous in ensuring it has a good *prima facie* case in law and that it applies rigorous analysis to the material it receives.

Judged by these standards, the EOC's performance is seriously defective. For its first investigation, into the Tameside Education Authority's emergency allocation in 1976 of places to girls in its selective schools, it chose a situation which was very untypical. Its report reveals poor methodology, nowhere setting out clearly the issues raised nor what evidence was considered relevant, thus setting an unfortunate pattern for further investigations. At least one investigation, into Electrolux Ltd, proved to be so unwieldy that it had to be partially discontinued. Two at least of its investigations were thrust onto the Commission as a result of outside pressures and the overall picture of investigations reveals no coherent strategy in terms of dismantling the traditional strongholds of sex discrimination.

Perhaps the most disastrous of the EOC's forays into enforcement came with the Provincial Building Society investigation. Proposed in 1980, the plan was to investigate the Society's policies and procedures when dealing with joint applications for mortgages. The Building Society sought judicial review of the decision to hold the investigation. The action was eventually settled after severe criticism by the judge in the High Court of the EOC's conduct, in particular because it appeared to be acting on the basis of stale complaints. Rigorous attention to detail was simply not evidence. This failure produced a devastating fall in morale of EOC staff.

WHAT IS THE government's attitude to the performance of the two Commissions? The Home Office expressed no strong opinion on either's record; indeed it was mildly satisfied with the EOC which had used its powers 'sensibly' and 'hadn't caused too much trouble.' At present both the CRE, which receives £8 million, and the EOC, which receives £3 million, are being looked at internally under a Civil Service Review body and their past conduct must come up for discussion.

One reform which would free both Commissions from their partial paralysis is to take away their task of acting as both impartial judge and prosecution. They should be left with the task of investigating discrimination and should then take their case to a tribunal, either a specially constituted one as the CRE is suggesting, or an industrial tribunal or court. The Commission would then not be the focus of the respondent's efforts to obtain a favourable outcome.

In the current political climate, however, radical amendments to the legislation seem unlikely. There are minor alterations which would sharpen up the legislation. Both the Select Committee and the CRE have proposed that the right to make representations should be curtailed, especially the right to be heard before an investigation is even launched. Non-discrimination notices should be given immediate legal effect, rather than having to go to court separately to have them enforced. Investigations should have to be completed with a time limit, perhaps three years. More flexible remedies are needed, such as the powers proposed by the CRE for them to be able to accept legal binding undertakings that discriminatory practices should be discontinued.

Above all, however, the greatest need is for a determined law enforcement policy to emerge at both Commissions. In this area, they are the only bodies in a position to make existing law work on sex and race discrimination. They should do so. □

## THIS ENGLAND

£3 book tokens for entries printed. (On postcards, please.)

□Christchurch boundaries committee chairman Cllr Kevin Bishop sees his borough's territorial battle with Bournemouth as 'Our Falklands'. That was his fighting comment last night after another councillor drew a parallel between Bournemouth's threatened invasion of Hurn with that other invasion in the South Atlantic. — *Bournemouth Echo* (Betty Rubinstein)

□Admiral of the Fleet Lord Hill-Norton argued that the new home defence force was required to counter the Spetsnaz, the Soviet equivalent of the SAS, which is suspected of accumulating clothes from Marks and Spencer in preparation for a sabotage campaign in Britain. — *Guardian* (Martin Kender)

EAST-WEST

# Moscow travellers

### Bob Dent examines the increase in interest about life in the Soviet Union

WE LIVED in what now seems a much simpler world when, on 9 July 1924, over a hundred people gathered in central London for the founding meeting of the Society for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union (SCR). Britain's first Labour government had recently established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and in the wake of this the mainly intellectual and professional people who came to Caxton Hall hoped to bring to the attention of the British public more information about 'science, education, philosophy, art, literature, and the social and economic life' of the young Soviet state.

Fifty years later, the fortunes of the SCR had been brought to a low ebb by the Cold War, governmental detente and then Cold War again. But today the society is undergoing a boom. Membership is up. Its Russian film shows are sold out. Enquiries from journalists and others about its extensive photographic archive have increased and demand for its Russian language courses cannot be satisfied. This year's intensive language course at Easter had to be closed as demand for places was nearly double that of 1983.

The SCR's experience is not unique. The British-Soviet Friendship Society (BSFS), politically a much more pro-Soviet outfit which traces its roots back to such pre-war organisations as the Friends of the Soviet Union, has also increased its membership. Similarly, when the Great Britain-USSR Association (GB-USSR) placed an advert in the programme for *Crime and Punishment*, directed by Yuri Lyubimov in London last autumn, they received a huge response. A hundred applications resulted in a 10 per cent increase in membership.

The GB-USSR, which is government funded, was founded in 1959 and receives all-party support for promoting cultural and human contacts — and does not allow members of the BSFS to join. Although all three are distinct organisations with different emphases, each of them claims a significant increase in membership; in the SCR up from 350 at the end of the 1970s to 1,000 fully paid up members and still growing; the BSFS claims 3,000 and increasing.

Confirmation also comes from the tour operators who specialise in travel to the Soviet Union. Official Soviet agents, Intourist, recorded an increase of 4,000 package holidays last year, 40 per cent up, and this year a similar increase looks likely to follow. Progressive Tours had a 32 per cent turnover increase in 1983 and so far this year turnover is up 27 per cent. 'We are so busy we don't know how to



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cope,' says Mr Landon Temple, the managing director. This is in contrast with an overall increase last year of 3.8 per cent in Britons taking package holidays.

Progressive deals in small group and special interest tours. A recently advertised 'Pensioners for Peace' trip was immediately oversubscribed and a second tour had to be arranged for the autumn. The company has also revived a special department for dealing with independent travel.

Demand does, of course, fluctuate with the political climate. Thomson Holidays, the main UK package operator to the Soviet Union, experienced a sharp slump following the Korean airline shooting. But it soon picked up and Thomson, along with Intourist and Progressive are gearing themselves up for increased trade in the future.

There are other ways in which people are demonstrating a greater curiosity about life in the USSR. Ian Christie of the British Film Institute has set up an exchange programme with the Moscow Film Institute. He travelled to Moscow in 1979 to select a package of recent Soviet films to bring back to this country. The idea was to choose popular, middle-level films which would portray the texture of everyday life. They were screened at the National Film Theatre (NFT) in London and elsewhere in the country throughout 1980. It was an inauspicious time. The invasion of Afganistan was fresh in people's minds. *The Times* criticised the programme and almost declared that the films should be boycotted on principle. Nevertheless, the films gathered widespread interest and what Ian Christie remembers as a 'quite distinct feel across the country' that more such films would be welcomed. A follow-up season in 1983 was indeed successful and this autumn there are plans to screen several works of Yuli Raizman, one of the Soviet Union's oldest working directors.

More popularly, there is the BBC's *Russian Language and Life* series, which, as the title implies, attempted to portray ordinary life 'over there' as well as give language instruction. The BBC was flooded with letters demanding to know why there weren't more such programmes. Terry Doyle, the producer of the series, has also been over to Moscow and the results of his contacts with the state Gosteleradio are on show at the NFT this week. This Saturday (7 July) he is introducing a day event which is looking at Soviet television.

POSSIBLE REASONS for all this upsurge in interest are not hard to find, but on close examination neither are they simple and straightforward. Certainly the Moscow Olympics in 1980 stirred a lot of latent interest in the Soviet Union. But that would not sustain the momentum of interest. Rather we should look at the broader context of East-West relations following the 1979 NATO decision to instal cruise missiles. This decision, plus the invasion of Afghanistan and the resultant 'new' Cold War in turn fuelled the rise of CND in Britain and other peace movements throughout Europe. While East-West relations at the level of high politics were becoming increasingly strained people at the grass-roots level were becoming more curious about their 'enemies' on the other side of the great divide. After all, the nature of the Soviet Union, its aggressive intentions or otherwise, is at the heart of Cold War politics and hence of the peace movement too.

While the roots of the peace movement's concern with the Soviet Union are clear and obvious, the actual politics of that concern are a veritable minefield. The organisation European Nuclear Disarmament (END) must take a lot of credit for bringing an international perspective to the peace movement. In particular, E.P. Thompson's pamphlet *Beyond the Cold War* found an echo in many hearts with its call for a breaking down of the block mentality and its enthusiasm for 'people's detente' — citizen initiatives to establish direct grass-roots contacts with our fellow Europeans behind the 'Iron Curtain'.

But END has been the arena for lengthy and often bitter disputes over attitudes to 'official' and 'unofficial' peace groups in Eastern Europe and over the relation between human rights and peace campaigning. The positions are complex and varied. But these divisions, coupled with official hostility from the East, has meant that END has not been able to facilitate grassroots East-West contacts to the extent, or in the way, that many people hoped.

New initiatives, however, both individual and organised, are springing up all the time. Claire Ryle and Jim Garrison in Cambridge have set up East-West Reach in the hope of making contacts more easily through officially organised tours. They have been overwhelmed with the response. A women's tour to Georgia was quickly booked up with hardly any advertising. Some of the contacts that have been made have been quite remarkable.

Jan Snell of Cranbrook in Kent travelled with East-West Reach at the end of May. She was not involved in the peace movement nor, particularly, a 'Russophile'. Like many people, curiosity had taken her to Moscow. She is, however, an amateur dressage enthusiast and had obtained from a specialist magazine the address of the Soviet equestrian headquarters. Failing to make any contact via the guides or on the telephone she simply hailed a taxi and brandished the address. A short ride from central Moscow took her to a huge sports complex and a few words of explanation resulted in her spending a day with Elena Petushkova, who is the top Soviet dressage champion.

East-West Reach believes that Jan Snell's experience can be repeated, although hers was particularly spectacular. To this end Claire Ryle is working on a handbook of East-West organisations which will include practical information about travel and making contacts. She is also working with academics from the Peace Studies Department of Bradford University and elsewhere who have specialist knowledge of Eastern Europe so that their skills can be used in the media and at conferences. The hope is, in the words of Pat Litherland of Bradford, 'to put the cardboard Russians back into 3D'.

But it is the new wave of interest in the Soviet Union merely a repetition of what happened during the Popular Front period in the thirties? Faced with the rise of fascism in Europe, many people then, particularly intellectuals, looked to the Soviet Union not only as a bulwark against this threat but also as a symbol of progress and a guide to the future. The result was the 'fellow traveller' and a whole range of communist-dominated organisations which, at their worst, served to mask, if not justify, the horrors of Stalinism in the USSR.

It is different today. True, a certain naivety can creep in, in and outside the peace movement. But in non-imperial Britain, people are less idealistic and see things less in black and white than in the 1930s. A whole post-war generation has grown up for whom the Soviet Union was never the socialist paradise portrayed then. For such people neither political illusion nor bitter disillusion is on the cards to the same extent. □


**SCR** **Specialists on the USSR**

**Founded in 1924 to facilitate cultural co-operation and mutual understanding.**

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE•PHOTO LIBRARY•FILMS•SPECIALIST TOURS •CONTACTS•INFORMATION • LENDING LIBRARY•EXHIBITIONS •MEETINGS

**Details: SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH THE USSR**
**320 Brixton Road, London SW9 6AB**
**(01-274-2282)**

**WORLD WIDE HOLIDAYS**
**SOVIET UNION**

Special tours for cultural and scientific groups with extensive study content — min 7 people, anywhere from Lvov to Matapan. Many opportunities for individuals to join, plus general tours, Moscow, Leningrad, May Day, November celebrations etc.

**NICARAGUA & CUBA**

Aug, Oct and Nov (Nicaragua elections) study tours with extensive programme.

**ITALY & FRANCE**

Study tours and holidays based on our special flights to Rome and Paris.

***Progressive Tours Ltd.***

12 Porchester Place, Marble Arch, London W2 2BS
Telephone 01 262 1676. Telex 25135.

**YORKSHIRE TOURS**

49 Thornton Lodge Road,
Huddersfield HD1 3JQ.
Phone: 0484 24269

**MOSCOW £180**
14-24 Aug, 28 Aug-7 Sept,
4-14 Sept, 3-13 Nov, 22 Dec-1 Jan.

**KIEV £170**
21-31 Aug, 11-21 Sept,
22 Dec-1 Jan.

**TASHKENT - SAMARKAND £320**
22 Dec-5 Jan.

**MOSCOW AND PEKING £600**
29 Oct-26 Nov.

**VILNIUS £200** 4-14 Sept.

**ULYANOVSK £190** 18-30 Sept.

**SOCHI £180** 18-30 Sept.

**LENINGRAD £190** 18-30 Sept.

**VOLGOGRAD £225** 18-30 Sept.

All by Sleeper Train




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRESS

# Scargill's Sun support

## Mark Hollingsworth on the Sun's brief eclipse

THE Sun
MINE FUHRER
Sam's assets insured for £4m
£40,000 BINGO!
Today's lucky numbers on Page 16
THE Sun
Members of all The Sun production chapels refused to handle the Arthur Scargill picture and major headline on our lead story. The Sun has decided, reluctantly, to print the paper without either.
Today's lucky numbers on Page 16

**The Sun before (left) and after union action**

WHEN THE *Sun*, *Daily Mirror* and *Financial Times* failed to appear last week Arthur Scargill commented wryly on the Day of Action that it was the best coverage the miners had received since the dispute began. Printworkers had demanded that their papers publish statements of support in solidarity with the Day of Action for miners called by the South East Regional TUC. Scargill proposed their demand be extended to 'at least once a week to print the NUM's case in the national newspapers'.

This struggle for the miners' voice to be heard in the press has been particularly bitter inside the *Sun*'s offices, keeping the paper off the streets for three days last week. It was the *Sun*'s own 'ballot form' during the miners' overtime ban in January which first provoked the printworkers into action — shortly after Scargill had publicly supported their union, the National Graphical Association (NGA) in their dispute with Eddie Shah.

On 10 January, under the headline 'The Ballot that Arthur Scargill won't give you', the paper called on the miners to vote on the form and return it by freepost. The NGA composing room chapel immediately sought a disclaimer and a Right of Reply. 'We were outraged at this gross interference in the affairs of the NUM. It had no credence as a genuine ballot and no relevance to the NUM' said Tony Crichton-Smith, the NGA Imperial Father of Chapel (representative of all NGA sections at the *Sun*.)

*Sun* Editor Kelvin McKenzie refused to withdraw the form and threatened to leave a blank space in the paper for a week until the NGA handled the copy — believing the union's fear of being called censors would cause them to back down.

After much lobbying, McKenzie finally agreed to print a 32 word disclaimer underneath the ballot form as well as a Right of Reply from Arthur Scargill. Fearing, with reason, that there might be attempts to alter the NUM's copy, NGA officials personally supervised it, though not without some acrimonious exchanges with McKenzie. The Reply was printed on 13 January, unchanged, with the same prominence as the 'ballot form'. (3,500 readers filled it in, 'voting' 3 to 1 for the miners to ballot.)

Open conflict flared again in May. A Press Association photograph of Scargill, arm raised high to greet marching miners in Mansfield, was seized on with delight by the press. It was the *Sun*, however, who decided to publish the photograph on the front page of the 16 May edition under the banner headline, written by McKenzie, 'Mine Fuhrer'.

The production workers were outraged and all their seven chapels met and refused to handle the headline. The NGA Imperial Committee then sent a delegation of all the unions to see the management, who threatened workers in the NGA process and composing departments with the sack if they did not handle the picture and headline — although, without telling the NGA, McKenzie had already decided not to use it. The paper appeared without the picture or headline on its front page.

In all this, the chapel of the National Union of Journalists, who write the editorial material, supported management. Malcolm Withers, the NUJ FoC, stated: 'Our chapel believes we should not interfere in editorial matters and must remain neutral.'

ONE OF THE few NUJ members to dissent was lay-out artist Oliver Duke who proposed a motion on 16 May which condemned the (unused) headline and (published) story as 'a totally unjustifiable attack' on Scargill. It stated full support for the production chapels for refusing to print the picture and headline and 'informs management that should such editorial excesses occur again it will refuse to produce them for the paper'. It was seconded reluctantly, not one chapel committee member supported it and when Ian Blunt, deputy FoC, proposed the motion not be put to the meeting, he won an overwhelming majority.

The journalists were again noticeably silent when the production workers lobbied for a statement in support of the miners to be published in the *Sun* on 27 June, the Day of Action. The other 17 chapels agreed to press for a half-page statement or free advertisement and three officials from SOGAT and the NGA went to see McKenzie and Bruce Matthews, Managing Director of the News goup.

When McKenzie was shown the statement he remarked, 'This propaganda is obviously written by a left-wing Marxist,' and offered them space in the letters page or an advertisement — at the cost of £2,500. The unions refused and McKenzie said angrily, 'I can't understand why my paper is being hit.'

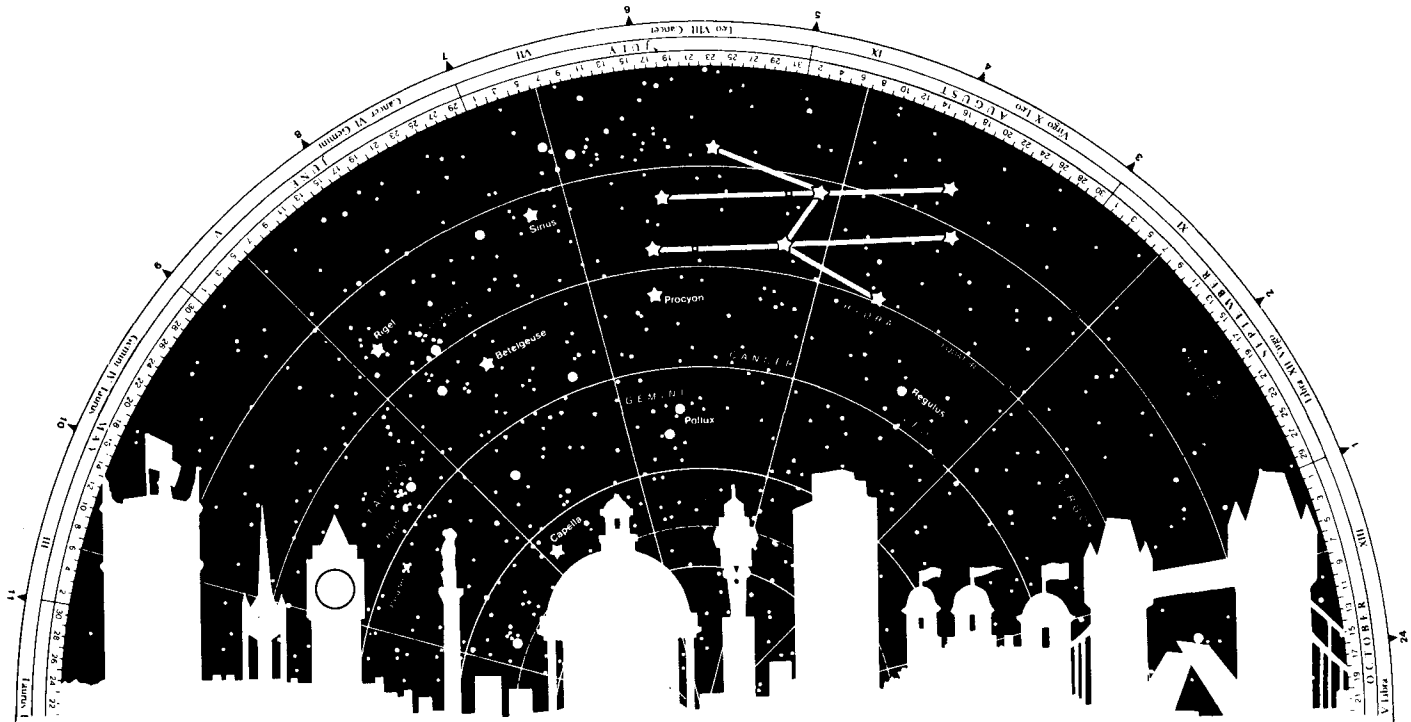
McKenzie then proposed changes in the statement. He wanted references to a Right of Reply removed because it was 'a Marxist-inspired tactic' and the accusation that the government had lied about intervention because 'it was libellous'. And he was adamant that the unions would have to pay for the advertisement. The response from the usually placid production unions surprised the management. When the chapels met separately they were so angered by the comments from labour relations officers about their 'blots' and 'disloyalty' that only the SOGAT machinists were prepared to stay at work. All the rest walked out on 26 June and, following a dispute on strike pay, the paper did not appear again until last Saturday.

If the *Sun*'s editorial attitudes towards trade unionism are reflected in their attitudes towards their own unions, then perhaps this new revulsion by their employees is not surprising. There is something violent and hysterical in the leader planned for that 27 June issue, a copy of which has been obtained by the *New Statesman*. Written by McKenzie, several NGA workers considered refusing to work on it before they all walked out anyway. Headlined 'The Day of the Crackpot' it attacked transport workers for taking sympathy strike action and then launched into the Labour Party: 'And notice how it is welcomed by the leading crackpot, the wrecker-in-chief, Tony Benn. He wants the disruption to be widened even further to a General Strike. Notice, too, how while he speaks out, the titular leadership are too frightened to open their mouths in disagreement . . . Having failed at the polls, the Labourites imagine they can win the battle at the pit heads and in the streets.'

Absurdly, a sizeable majority of the *Sun* reporters and sub-editors are Labour supporters. Both top NUJ chapel officers and one of the leader writers, Peter Rose, are members of the Labour Party. This exacerbates rather than appeases the politicised members of other unions. If *Sun* journalists strike next week for their, at a minimum, claim for a 23 per cent pay rise, one NGA members at least will 'cross their picket line with the greatest of pleasure'. One NUJ members is equally angry: 'When it comes to taking a bite out of Murdoch's huge cake, they begin to salivate and become quite excited . . . when it comes to freedom of the press almost all of them agree. Yet, the editor can publish any union-bashing, racist, sexist filth he can conjure up with a free hand — and a lot of help from the journalists.' □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




# Prospects for the railway customer look much better.

The signs for the future of British Rail are encouraging. The results for 1983 were the best for 6 years. And the railway operating surplus of £62 million, before interest, was the largest ever recorded in the 21 year history of the Railways Board.

Overall the Board made a surplus of £8 million, a significant achievement when compared to the previous year's loss of £175 million.

In terms of investment too, British Rail is standing on its own feet.

Last year, all capital investment was funded entirely from within the business.

## Increasing efficiency

In 1981 the railway was restructured into five manageable parts, three for the passenger business – InterCity, London and the South East, and Provincial Services – and one each for Freight and Parcels.

Each has a Sector Director responsible for meeting defined financial targets and levels of service.

This new structure has given the railways a much sharper commercial edge.

Throughout the business the operation has been streamlined by reducing the number of management levels.

The result, is a more efficient railway, which gives better value for money.

## The key to securing the future

With improving efficiency, new investment becomes the key to the future.

This is projected to rise from last year's £270 million to £380 million in 1986.

During the same period, there will be a saving of 25% in Government support for maintaining the national rail network.

This will not involve drastic service cuts, but will come mainly from increased efficiency and from more accurately matching service supply to customer demand.

## Serving the Customer

A very bright future exists for an efficient, modern service that responds to customer demand.

"Our industry will prosper or decline according to whether we give our customers the service and quality they seek and whether they see it as value for money" (Chairman of British Rail, Dec '83).

This philosophy is already working well. The freight vehicle fleet, for instance, has been reduced by 55% since 1979 and is now better suited to Railfreight's target markets. The improvement in freight vehicle utilisation averaged 14% annually between 1979-82 and rose to over 16% in 1983.

On the passenger business a 7% increase in traffic is forecast by 1986.

In truth, the prospects for the railway customer look much better.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDUCATION

# Joseph's lost crusades

**Right thinking Sir Keith Joseph is looking distinctly wet as Education Secretary. Barry Hugill explains why**

SEVERAL TIMES a year the National Council for Educational Standards (NCES) holds a conference at a smart private hotel in the centre of London. The hundred or so people who sacrifice their Sundays to attend include a sprinkling of academics, the odd Tory MP, a considerable number of teachers from private schools and, occasionally, a junior minister.

The NCES has, in recent years, had a marked influence on Conservative Party education policy, producing documents advocating student loans in place of grants; the restoration of selection at 11; educational vouchers and open enrolment in secondary schools and stronger discipline in the classroom. A sister organisation of the NCES is the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), a 'think tank' founded by Sir Keith Joseph in the early 1970s to combat social democrats and corporatists who, to his mind, had taken over the Conservative Party. Their thinking, under their preferred leader Margaret Thatcher, now dominates Conservatism.

The appointment, in 1981, of Sir Keith as Education Secretary, with Rhodes Boyson as his junior, was greeted with delight by the two organisations. Not only was the Minister the intellectual guru of the CPS but Dr Boyson was a long-standing, and active, member of the NCES.

Three years later Joseph has reneged on practically every item of the NCES/CPS New Right platform. Far from encouraging non-interventionist, free market policies, he has acquiesced in the development of the most centralised education system ever seen in the UK. His announcement, last month, of the scrapping of GCE 'O' levels, beloved of the Right as a symbol of academic excellence, finally extinguished his reputation as a Tory radical.

AS EARLY as 1982 Joseph was showing disturbing signs of pragmatism. His political adviser, Stuart Sexton, held a number of meetings with Conservative councillors to discuss the possibility of their local education authorities (LEAs) participating in a pilot educational voucher scheme. The idea was that parents would be given a voucher 'worth' the average cost of a place in a State secondary school which they would 'cash in' at any school of their choice. The chosen school would present the voucher to the LEA who would pay it in real money. At a stroke parents would gain freedom of choice and only popular schools would survive.

The Tory reformers were convinced that with 'their men' running the DES, voucher experiments would soon be introduced and when, in February of last year, Joseph announced that he was considering pilot schemes the Right sensed its time had come.

Its jubilation was premature. An alliance of LEA chief education officers, DES civil servants and Conservative councillors moved rapidly to block the experiment. They argued that vouchers would create organisational chaos and make it impossible to plan sensibly for the future. It soon became clear that Conservative councillors in opposition, with no chance of power, were keener on vouchers than those in office who would have responsibility for their administration. The scheme was quietly dropped after Sir Keith decided that it was not practicable.

Worse was to come when in September Tory-controlled Kent announced that it was dropping its open-enrolment experiment started, two years previously, in one part of the county. Parents had been allowed to enrol their children at any school of their choice, thus expanding popular schools and, to meet their increased costs, closing unpopular ones — or so theory had it.

But the experiment actually showed that while some schools did expand beyond the accommodation available, the unpopular schools did not fall below a limit (set at two form entry) which allowed them to be closed. The experiment did not last long enough to test the other snag associated with increased parental choice — that unpopular schools do not remain so for ever. What happens when, after the inevitable time lag, parents discover that the school down the road is getting better exam results? Vouchers and open enrolment are nightmares for administrators and their voices proved decisive in getting the experiments abandoned.

But political expediency, not administrative pressure, brought about the biggest upset for the Right. For years Boyson and his supporters had advocated the reintroduction of selection at 11. Yet, once a minister, he became less enthusiastic and his old friends at the NCES were not too upset when, last year, he was moved from Education to Social Services.

His successor was Bob Dunn, a former PPS to Cecil Parkinson and firmly on the skinhead wing of the Party. His proudest boast is that he failed the 11 plus yet lived to serve in a Tory Government. Like Joseph and Boyson he is 'advised' by the NCES member Stuart Sexton, and within weeks of taking office he gave the go-ahead to Tory councillors eager to bring back grammar schools.

Education committee bosses in Solihull, Redbridge, Berkshire and Wiltshire got the message. They drew up proposals for the extension, or the reintroduction, of selection at 11 and the NCES radicals were convinced that after nearly 20 years the fightback against the comprehensive had begun. They had every reason to expect victory, for opinion polls have consistently shown widespread support for grammar schools which people think will raise academic standards, a popular demand across party and class divides.

What they had not counted on was the extent of opposition to selection from those who actually have children at school. In Redbridge (a prosperous borough on the outer edges of East London) the Liberals won their first ever council seat after fighting a by-election on a pro-comprehensive platform, in what had been a rock solid Conservative seat. A survey of teachers in the borough found 90 per cent in favour of comprehensives and an opinion poll, sponsored by the LEA, showed a majority of parents against any form of selection.

The ruling Tory group was hopelessly split. After the opinion poll, the election result, a mass petition and, unprecedented in suburban Redbridge, a demonstration of over 2,000 people, the plan was dropped. In true blue Solihull, Berkshire and Wiltshire, grammar school proposals were abandoned after alliances of parents and teachers convinced councillors that the 11 plus was not the vote catcher that they had anticipated. The ratepayers of Redbridge and Solihull know that a selective system means that a lot of children fail, including, possibly, their own.

Sir Keith has now made it clear that, although sympathetic to selection, 'the clock cannot be put back'.

THE HIGH hopes of the Right have been shattered. All they are left with is the assisted places scheme which siphons off money from State to independent schools and legislation to increase parental representation on school governing bodies. To add insult to injury Sir Keith has not only killed off GCE 'O' levels, but has announced he will introduce legislation to abolish the use of the cane.

The reality of Joseph's reign at the DES is a vast extenstion of the State's control over education. Faced with constant demands from industry for a 'relevant' curriculum the government has concentrated its energies, and money, on technical and vocational training. The Conservative election manifesto of last year spelt out the priorities: 'Training for work must start with better, more relevant education at school . . . In higher education we want to see a shift towards technological, scientific and engineering courses'.

David Young, chairperson of the MSC and rumoured to be the next head of Mrs Thatcher's private office, is even clearer on the 'social engineering' intent of Government policy. After announcing the £7m Technical Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) whereby the MSC would take over, from the LEAs, responsibility for technical courses in schools, he criticised the curriculum in English schools as 'too academic and geared to university entrance'. This is not the free market philosophy of letting the 'tallest poppies' grow unfettered, which brought Education Secretary Margaret Thatcher to the party leadership.

The truth is that Sir Keith Joseph has continued a policy begun by Shirley Williams. It was Mrs Williams who first involved the MSC in education and training when she set up the Youth Opportunities Programme. But socialists should ask themselves in what way Labour's education programme *fundamentally* differs from that of Joseph. If, leaving aside the crucial commitment to end spending cuts, they conclude 'not a lot', they will understand the anger and frustration of Sir Keith's former acolytes who have asked that question and come to the same answer. □



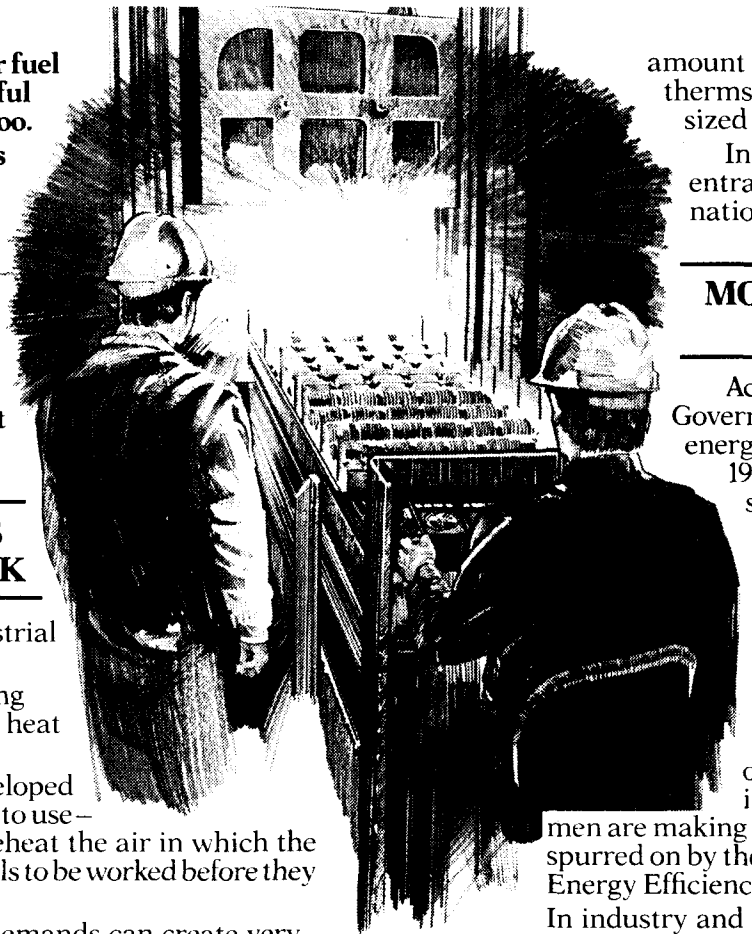
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The gas people–investing in tomorrow's world today

**Gas is today's most popular fuel in British homes–and a powerful and growing force in industry, too.**

**In fact, gas already supplies over a third of all the heat used by British industry.**

**As this proportion grows, the nation will benefit increasingly from the investment the gas people have been and are making on behalf of their customers in developing and encouraging more efficient ways to use this premium fuel.**



## NEW PROCESS PUTS WASTE HEAT TO WORK

All high-temperature industrial processes produce waste heat.

For instance, in some forging furnaces over 70 per cent of the heat is wasted.

So the gas people have developed ways of putting this waste heat to use–notably by employing it to preheat the air in which the gas will burn, or to heat materials to be worked before they enter the furnace.

In this way, reduced fuel demands can create very valuable savings–40 per cent or more in many cases.

The latest and most efficient application of this principle by the gas people is a regenerative ceramic burner which offers even greater fuel savings, since it is capable of using virtually all the heat that would otherwise be wasted.

## THE COMPETITION EVERYBODY WINS

Eight years ago, to encourage the efficient use of energy, the gas people introduced their Gas Energy Management awards.

They recognised significant contributions to energy conservation in industry, commerce and public administration.

Since then the cumulative annual savings made by all the entrants amount to over 100 million therms, enough gas for a fair-sized city.

In this competition, every entrant is a winner–and the nation wins too.

## MORE INDUSTRIES TURN TO GAS

According to provisional Government figures for UK energy consumption in 1983 gas increased its share of the industrial market, even though industrial gas consumption fell by 0.3 per cent.

But industry still spent over £1,300 million on gas.

So it is good news, for our customers, and industry's, that businessmen are making more efficient use of gas–spurred on by the Department of Energy's Energy Efficiency Office.

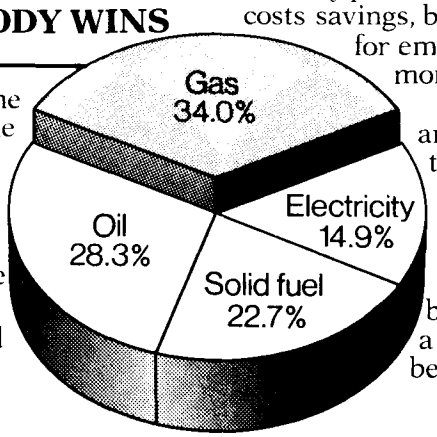
In industry and commerce, the emphasis today is on the more efficient use of fuel and power for greater profit.

The gas people are at the forefront of this trend, through their multi-million pound R and D programme and the technical consultancy services they provide to industrial and commercial customers.

New developments in the more efficient use of gas not only provide obvious benefits in the form of fuel costs savings, but also bring increased opportunities for employment–by making British industry more efficient.

They provide export opportunities and much business in home markets for those companies which are collaborating with British Gas in the development and introduction of the new technologies.

So investment by the gas people on behalf of their customers is paying off in a whole variety of ways–to the nation's benefit.




# Britain's got a wonderfuel future! Gas



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# DIARY

I see there is trouble over the Open University. Serious bias has been discovered in its social science foundation course. So reprehensible is the brainwashing that Sir Keith Joseph, erstwhile Guru to The Boss herself, has taken the unprecedented step of demanding that the offending coursebook be changed. I can quite see what he means. Take the following assessment of British economic development, one that simply gives the game away:

> The great feudal families . . . set their stamp so firmly on post-medieval British society that the merchant classes sought acceptance rather than challenging it as they did in France . . . perhaps capitalism itself works to strengthen non-capitalist elements . . .

It is so brazen: the way the role of capitalism is stressed and class rule assumed, the neo-Gramscian emphasis on the mode of domination and the problematic relationship between aristocratic hegemony and modern industry, typical of the English new Left . . . One wonders why academics can't be more subtle in their formulations, so that, at the very least, they disguise their Marxist approach — admirable in itself, of course — and allow the readers and viewers some space to make up their own minds. One wonders. As I wonder what answers OU students might come up with if asked to name the author of the passage just quoted. Here is a clue: it appeared in the *New Statesman* of 18 April 1975.*

○

I was also glad to see how firmly the great Department of State that is responsible for knowledge and education rejected the OU's preposterous claim that Britain is basically a capitalist country. Here, indeed, there is no room for more than one point of view. The report specially drafted for Sir Keith Joseph apparently emphasised that 'most professional economists' would disagree with any such description. This vindicates my profoundly held view of academic professionals, especially those responsible enough to co-operate anonymously with Departments of State. Capitalist? No one who read last week's papers would think the British government capitalist. It may say it is. But we know better than to believe such propaganda. The Cabinet said that it would 'privatise' State-owned industries, but when RTZ wanted to buy the so-called Enterprise Oil company, this was forbidden. The City was enraged. Money talked, the leader writers cringed, but the interventionist, State bureaucratic socialism of our Leader was not swayed. Similarly with the miners' strike. The Boss claims that she has nothing to do with it, but we all know that she is running the entire dispute. The catch-phrase, 'It is time to take the government off our backs', was a Chinese saying. The more we are taken in by such populist phrases, the deeper the whips of the State thwack across our shoulders.

*The author: one Sir Keith Joseph and we paid him £40 for it.

○

Imagine what it must be like to have been ruled by The Boss since 1944. The pulse stops. Even Norman Tebbit must hesitate at the prospect of four decades of faithful service to his Thatcher. With good reason. Albania has the world's longest serving dictator — Enver Hoxha, in power since 1944. Recently, his confidant and henchman, Mehmet Shehu, the Norman Tebbit of Tirana, 'committed suicide'. Doubts as to Hoxha's own longevity have just been dispelled, however, by the *New Statesman*'s intrepid holiday-maker, our editorial assistant Jane Thomas. By the brilliant investigative stroke of strolling through Tirana's main square, she managed to see the great leader himself, frail but alive, as he was driven past. There was no problem to recognise him, she revealed, as his portrait — though youthful and idealised — is everywhere.

○

Hoxa accused Shehu of being a long-time American agent, who also worked for the KGB while simultaneously serving the notorious revisionists of Yugoslavia. Such talk is typical further afield than Albania. Pol Pot asserted a similarly improbable co-operation of the KGB and the CIA, this time with Hanoi's secret service. At the end of the 1940s, the French Communists denounced 'Titoists' as 'Hitlero-Trotskyites'. There seems to be a triangle of paranoia that might be termed 'the unholy trinity complex' of extreme dogmatism. Is it limited to Communist rhetoric? Other examples would be appreciated.

○

## ROGER WODDIS

### Bill-stickers

*(After the government's defeat in the Lords on its Bill to abolish the GLC and Met County Council elections)*

'Down with the the Lords!' cried the Lady,
'Long live the Lords!' cried Benn —
And such a reversal
Could be a rehearsal
For dramas beyond our Ken.

The nobles who used to inhabit
The land of the living dead
Rebelled at the blunder
And moved us to wonder
What follows when peers see red.

Creating a cock-up so shady
Could darken a chap's career,
And thanks to the vermin
Who love to wear ermine,
A flea is in Jenkin's ear.

The voter's a pest, like a rabbit
Who's caught in the hunter's sights.
(Oh, yes, and be certain
To rail at the Curtain,
And clamour for human rights).

It is essential to mark the death of Foucault, especially now that a *post mortem* resurrection of Sartre is under way. Here is a true story of Anglo-Saxon intellectual life. Two of my neighbours split the *Guardian* over breakfast. He read out that Foucault had died. She said, 'That's great, it means I won't have to read his volumes on sexuality'. The death, he continued, came within days of Foucault completing the three volumes. 'Oh shit'.

○

For over a year a new kitchen has been talked about in my household. Slowly it dawned on us that the South of England was scattered with shops that specialised in kitchen fitments. With some trepidation we commissioned an estimate from one. Fortunately, without obligation. The key concept of kitchen layout, the theoretical lynchpin of its domestic toil, is 'the work triangle'. This has nothing to do with paranoia. On the contrary, it is all too material. It means: the sink, the stove and the fridge. Within these three 'most used' points, should lie the main work surfaces of the kitchen. It seemed to us, however, that one of the most used things in our kitchen was a very convenient flip-top rubbish bin. We asked that space to be allowed in which this bin could stand. Furthermore, we wanted somewhere to eat at table height, rather than at the level of what is called a breakfast bar. The latter demand could be met at vast expense. The former seemed beneath contempt. An astronomical estimate arrived. When we went to see the plan, it emerged that the swing-bin would just have to hang around outside the fabulous arrangement of fitted cupboards. I'd have thought that kitchen design would have been less prone to consumerist fantasy because it is concerned with work rather than 'living'. On the contrary. A semiologist of kitchen catalogues is a long way from being a cook. In Leicht kitchens one finds flowers; in Olympic kitchens, party hats and orange squash. Fruit is OK, vegetables are only acceptable if raw. Anything that betrays grease, or above all that smells strongly of cooking, is banished. The kitchen, like colour supplement food, becomes an extension of the zone of appearance.

**Islander**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Beyond the rainbow

Associated Press

**Jackson's latest triumph. Castro's agreement to release American and political prisoners gave the Black presidential candidate added standing**

**Manning Marable looks back on the Rev. Jesse Jackson's remarkable primary campaign and concludes that the new Black political consciousness still needs direction**

THE MAIN EVENT of this year's presidential primaries has unquestionably been the remarkable campaign of Jesse Jackson. Indeed there are no immediate historical parallels which can be used to measure the magnitude of Jackson's achievement. With inadequate funds, virtually no television or newspaper advertisements, and against the majority of the Black political establishment, Jackson swept the national Black electorate and small but significant sectors of white and Hispanic voters.

The essence of the Jackson campaign can be reduced to a single fact: the mobilisation was a democratic, social movement, initiated and led by Blacks, which assumed an electoral form. Its historical antecedents — the Montgomery County, Alabama bus boycott of 1955-56, the Birmingham, Alabama non-violent campaign of 1963, the Selma, Alabama march of 1965 — were revived in a new protest mode. More recent Black expressions of social unrest and electoral activism — especially Harold Washington's election as mayor of Chicago last year and the 'March on Washington DC' last August — gave a younger generation of Blacks the political expertise necessary for a national campaign effort.

As in the civil rights demonstrations of 25 years ago, the foundation of Jackson's support was Black America's most powerful institution — the Black Church. Over 90 per cent of the Black clergy in the US endorsed Jackson within two months of his candidacy being announced. The National Baptist Convention, USA, with a membership of 6.5 million Blacks, was the first major organisation to put resources into his campaign. Convention president T.J. Jemison characterised his churches' support for Jackson as 'moral, spiritual and financial'.

Thus the Jackson campaign throughout retained something of the character of a Black religious revival. Eddie N. Williams, head of the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington DC, characterised the mobilisation as an unprecedented crusade. 'Jackson has brought an excitement to the US political scene that is historic — not just in the way he has inspired Black voters to go to the polls, but more importantly in the substantial quality of the issues he has raised.

In rhetoric reminiscent of Martin Luther King Jr, Jackson inspired the masses of poor and working-class Blacks to seize their vote as a weapon to challenge institutional racism and economic inequality: 'My candidacy has destroyed the myth that Blacks are politically apathetic and has refocused the problem on the openness of the electoral system and the validity of the candidates attempting to represent their interests . . . A vote for me is a vote for peace, jobs and justice. That is the platform that I stand on and this is the platform that we will take to the Democratic convention. This is the platform that the people of America — Black, brown, white, red and yellow — need. That is why the Rainbow Coalition must come together'.

The powerful emotional appeal of a Black presidential candidacy worked its way down into grassroots constituencies across the country. The initial caucus voting in Virginia on 25 March provides an illustration of the popular protest character of the Jackson effort. In Norfolk, a city that is 35 per cent Black, a huge Black turnout gave Jackson all 163 delegates from the city. In Virginia Beach, a town with only 10 per cent Black voters, Black participation gave Jackson a majority of 62 delegates, versus Mondale's 50 delegates and Hart's 30. No candidate had won such a dedicated following in recent US political history.

The 'Rainbow Coalition' was not as monochromatic as media pundits proclaimed. Significant numbers of non-whites rallied behind Jackson. In campaign literature to Hispanic voters (printed in English and Spanish), Jackson called for bilingual education programmes, the application of the 1965 Voting Rights Act to combat the 'gerrymandering' and lack of 'voting rights' for Hispanics. He also opposed US 'aid to rebels trying to covertly overthrow the Government of Nicaragua'.

Such positions were anathema to Cuban-American immigrants, but found widespread support among Mexican immigrants and Puerto Ricans. In New York State's primary, Jackson won 34 per cent of the Puerto Rican vote, despite the nearly unanimous endorsement of Mondale by Puerto Rican officials, and, later, received almost one fifth of California's Latino vote. In April in Arizona, a state with a Black population of only 3 per cent, Jackson had received 14 per cent of the Democratic caucus vote.

Jackson was the only presidential candidate to attend the annual conference of the National Congress of American Indians. He used the opportunity to declare: 'On a moral level, how America treats American Indians is the "litmus-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

test" for this country's character'. Many Indian leaders were convinced.

Among white voters, Jackson found support among liberal-left peace activists and, less predictably, among thousands of unemployed and low-income blue collar workers. The Rainbow Coalition's peace platform was qualitatively to the left of any Democrat's in recent memory: a 20 to 25 per cent cut in the Pentagon budget, with the billions of dollars in funds reallocated to domestic social programmes; a bilaterial nuclear freeze; the removal of the Pershing II and cruise missiles from Western Europe and US-Soviet negotiations to reduce both sides' nuclear arsenals; unconditional opposition to US military intervention in Central America, the Caribbean, the Middle East and southern Africa; and the cancellation of all strategic defence initiatives, including the ballistic missile defence system and anti-satellite weapons. Jackson repeatedly called for normalised diplomatic relations with Cuba, an end of all military aid to the El Salvador regime and the destruction of the US military complex in Honduras.

Only George McGovern, former liberal Senator and past presidential nominee, stood as far to the left as the Black candidate; but with McGovern's withdrawal from the race in early March, only Jackson effectively represented peace, liberal and left constituencies.

In economically depressed areas, thousands of white workers found other aspects of the Rainbow Coalition programme attractive. In Homestead, Pennsylvania, for example, the local branch of the United Steelworkers bucked their national leadership by endorsing Jackson. Half its 7,000 members had lost their jobs due to recent plant closures. Jackson's calls for legislation to restrict capital flight across state lines won the approval of white steelworkers. Mike Stout, a member of its executive committee, explained to the press that Jackson was 'the only one talking about the issues. He is the only one talking about creating jobs for steelworkers who have lost them and of taking money from the military budget and applying it to jobs here at home.'

In several rural states, Jackson campaigned effectively among small farmers by riding around on a farm tractor. With less symbolism, but more to the point, he called for extensive federal assistance to family farmers to reduce their estimated $227 billion of debt. In Columbia, Missouri, hundreds of white small farmers rallied on his behalf. After giving Jackson a cheering, standing ovation, Roger Allison, leader of the Missouri American Agriculture Movement, announced for his organisation that 'farmers, like Blacks, are on the bottom — locked out. Together we will form a Rainbow Coalition, and we shall overcome'. Subsequently, the Ohio-based Farm Labor Organisation contributed its own organisers to campaign for the Black candidate.

The most interesting question concerning Jackson's support among whites was his, at best lukewarm, standing among traditional 'liberals' and the marginal white left. On feminist related issues, for instance, Jackson was clearly the most progressive candidate. Despite his personal opposition to abortion, Jackson called for government funded abortions, massive social spending for women's service programmes and expanded affirmative action for women in the labour force. Despite Mondale's longstanding opposition to gender quotas which would advance women workers, the National Organisation of Women endorsed the Minnesota Democrat. The 200,000-member liberal feminist organisation declared that Mondale, not Jackson, 'understood women's issues' and could more likely 'unite the Democratic coalition'. For different reasons, most white Marxist-feminists abstained from the Rainbow Coalition. One white radical feminist publication, *Off Our Backs*, argued in its April issue that Jackson was clearly 'committed to the Black community . . . but is he really commited to being a candidate for feminists?' White radical feminists had to be as 'sceptical about Jackson's campaign as of any other political campaign'. White gays and lesbians also tended to vote in line with their race rather than class interests.

The success of Jackson was also all the more remarkable given the political obstacles it had to confront at virtually every level. Despite his repeated overtures to white voters, not a single white member of Congress, governor, or white-owned newspaper ever endorsed him. Collectively, as Jackson stated, they were 'the first to urge me to fall in behind a white candidate'.

WHAT WILL BECOME of the Rainbow Revolution? On the morning of 5 June, Jackson met supporters outside a housing project in Oakland, California, and drew the crowd together in a prayer circle. 'There comes a point when leaders can't take you any further,' Jackson stated softly. 'I've brought you as far as I could bring you. You must shoulder the burden and the responsibility and go across the chilly Jordan. Each one has to swim for his or herself.' Some felt a shudder of recognition at these words: Martin Luther King's last major address had expressed the identical sense of completion, the achievement of a new level of Black hope and struggle. Political commentators also sensed this and groped for words to define Jackson's achievement. Theodore White suggested that Jackson had emerged 'as a major historical figure . . . a trail-blazer of the dimensions of (King). There is no doubt that henceforth there will always be a Black candidate as an independent force in national Democratic politics, and American politics will never be the same'.

The Jackson campaign has already shattered the political demography of the South. The region still has less than 3,000 Black elected officials out of a total of 79,000 (3.8 per cent), though Blacks make up 21 per cent of the region's population. Southern Blacks have only one Congressional representative and only seven mayors of cities with populations over 50,000. With the Jackson mobilisation, thousands of non-registered Blacks were motivated to participate in the electoral process. Between January 1983 and April 1984, over 183,000 new Black voters were enrolled in just five Southern states — Georgia, South and North Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana.

The significance of this mobilisation was not lost upon traditional political bosses. In 1980, for example, there were 85,000 unregistered Black voters in Arkansas, a state Reagan carried last time by 5,123 votes. In Tennessee, Reagan's 1980 victory margin of 4,710 votes is dwarfed by the 158,000 non-registered Black voters; in South Carolina, Reagan's margin of 11,456 votes would disintegrate with any significant registration of the state's 292,000 non-registered Blacks; similarly North Carolina, where Reagan's edge was 39,383 votes, had 506,000 non-registered Blacks.

In Louisiana, white leaders attempted to undermine both the Jackson campaign and Black registration efforts by trying to stop the state's 1984 Democratic primary. The federal courts required that the primary election be held and the worst fears of local racists came true: Jackson received 42 per cent of the statewide vote, trouncing both Mondale and Hart, and in the process, brought tens of thousands of new Black voters to the polls.

Yet from the vantage of Black history, there is a basic flaw in the entire Jackson phenomenon of 1984. Repeatedly within our political culture a 'Black Messiah' has arisen, challenging the system of institutional racism, motivating thousands of Blacks to march, and inspiring a new vision of social relations. The political discourse is almost always connected with the Old Testament saga of Moses. For Afro-Americans during the Civil War, Jewish biblical history was merged with their intense commitment to achieve freedom. Slaves' songs spoke of the 'rough, rocky road' that Moses travelled.

After World War I, Jamaican Black nationalist Marcus Garvey created the largest Afro-American organisation in history, the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and was seen by his contemporaries as a 'Black Moses' who had precipitated a new era of militant Black leadership. Martin Luther King Jr, Malcolm X, A. Philip Randolph and now Jesse Jackson are seen within this Black redemptive tradition, the synthesis of spiritual salvation and temporal transformation.

The weaknesses of this perspective are obvious in the case of Jackson. Before his presidential campaign, he exhibited few, if any, indications of ideological or political commitment to advance the cause of the Black working class and the poor. As late as 1980, at the previous Democratic National Convention, Jackson lobbied against planks calling for increased federal spending for jobs. He supported Carter's renomination over the more liberal candidate, Senator Ted Kennedy.

Marxist theorist George V. Plekhanov suggested decades ago that 'general historical circumstances are stronger than the strongest individuals. . . . Every man of talent who actually appears becomes a social force, [but] is the product of social relations'. The intense socio-economic crisis of the 1980s inside Black America created the social foundations for a Black revolt against the Democratic Party. But, given the lack of a socialist alternative, that revolt occurred *within* the Democratic Party.

Jackson, long the representative of the Black entrepreneurial elite, became the conduit of the Black social revolt. History forced greatness upon Jackson. He accepted it and, despite frequent detours, surprisingly rose to the occasion. Whether he is capable of broadening the social vision of the Black Movement to include a fundamental restructuring of the US political economy remains to be seen. □

---

*Manning Marable is Professor of Political Sociology at Colgate University. His book* Black Political Movements *is due to be published by Verso next year.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STAR WARS

# Simple posturing

**Duncan Campbell concludes that there is no substance in the latest offers to negotiate about disarmament in space**

ONCE AGAIN, both the Soviet Union and the United States are contriving to create the impression that they want to discuss a new disarmament agreement. In fact there was nothing new in last week's Soviet offer to negotiate a ban on space weapons — nor were there any surprises in the American response.

Over the last two decades, both superpowers have made faltering progress towards deploying weapons in space — in particular on weapons to destroy satellites. (Periodic negotiations to ban them have also been held, without progress.) During the 1980s, however, the situation changed as the United States announced a series of major new plans for warfare in space, culminating in the recent 'Star Wars' speach by President Reagan in March 1983.

In fact, the current debate has little to do with Star Wars *per se*, although many commentators this week confused the various aspects of space warfare. The current Soviet proposal is for 'complete mutual renunciation of anti-satellite systems' and the 'blocking' of the development and deployment of space-based weapons.

The anti-satellite (ASAT) systems include:

- Missiles launched from high flying aircraft to destroy low-flying satellites — the United States has begun testing such a system;
- Missiles or satellites launched from the ground to intercept and destroy enemy satellites;
- Energy beams aimed at satellites from orbiting 'battle stations', or from ground bases.

If no banning agreement is reached, then the Pentagon wants to resume ASAT tests this November. An 18-foot-long ASAT missile will be fired from a high altitude F-15 fighter and explode a shower of pellets in the path of an orbiting target satellite. The speed of the collision with the pellets — thousands of miles an hour — is expected to destroy the satellite on impact. The US plans to spend over $220 million on ASAT research during the coming year.

The Soviet Union launched a first series of target satellites and satellite interceptors between 1967 and 1971 and another between 1976 and 1982. A very small satellite interceptor force is now claimed to be operational. A similar US missile-based satellite killer system was deployed on two islands in the Pacific in 1964, but dismantled in 1975.

*In contrast, the 'Star Wars' plan is concerned* with intercepting or destroying incoming enemy *missiles* (or warheads) — which, unlike satellites, are on a ballistic trajectory, instead of revolving in orbit round the earth. Both the Americans and the Russians have been working on separate anti-satellite and anti-ballistic missile projects.

The history of negotiations about anti-satellite weapons suggests that the Reagan Administration is mainly to blame for the failure to make progress. Previous Soviet offers to negotiate have been dismissed out of hand and Congressional pressure for negotiations resisted. The Soviet Union is presently operating a moratorium of anti-satellite systems, announced unilaterally last August.

In 1978 and 1979 there were three sets of US-USSR meetings to discuss the control of ASAT weapons. (One series lasted two months.) In August 1981, the Soviet Union proposed to the United Nations a treaty prohibiting the deployment of any weapons in space. This would have augmented the existing 1967 Outer Space Treaty, which bans all nuclear weapons or other 'weapons of mass destruction' being deployed in space. The proposed new treaty would have extended this ban to 'conventional' or energy beam type systems. But it would not have included weapons for use in space which were not themselves in orbit — such as the Americans' new aircraft-launched missile. The new proposal is all-embracing as far as ASAT systems are concerned.

In his Star Wars speech President Reagan mused: 'What if. . . we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?' The concept of a ballistic missile defence (BMD) system had been pressed on him for a number of years by his political supporters and military advisers — in particular retired US Air Force General Daniel Graham, whose High Frontier study and lobbying group is financed by the Reaganites. Graham's proposal for a network of over 400 new American missile defence satellites is said not to be viewed enthusiastically by the Pentagon. Nevertheless, it has since become one option in a $26 billion plan supporting President Reagan's 'Strategic Defence Intitative' — the Pentagon's more sober name for Star Wars.

In March, US Air Force Lieutenant-General James Abrahamson was put in charge of a new Strategic Defence Initiative department at the Pentagon — and given a budget in excess of $1 billion. In the same month, the US Congressional Office of Technology Assessment reported critically on the new initiative. 'The prospect that emerging Star Wars technology will, when developed, provide a perfect or near-perfect defence system . . . is so remote that it should not serve as the basis of public expectation or national policy about ballistic missile defence.' At the same time, the US Union of Concerned Scientists reported that there was 'no realistic hope of developing defensive weapons that could protect the American people from overwhelming destruction in the event of nuclear war'.

Colin Wheeler

The announcement of the Strategic Defence Initiative was not widely welcomed in the United States, partly because it threatened a major and destabilising new arms race — and partly because the President's loose and fanciful talk about a total missile defence shield has no basis in what may be scientifically achievable. In consequence, a 1983 Congressional amendment to the US Defence budget required the President to seek a ban on anti-satellite weapons. The Soviet Union then responded in August with its voluntary moratorium.

Reagan refused to comply with the spirit of the Congressional request. Instead, the Administration devised the stumbling block of 'verification'. An ASAT treaty, it claimed, would be impossible to verify, so the United States would have to press ahead with its own ASAT developments.

This claim is ludricrous — particularly in the light of the US government's own recent publications, which indicate how closely the United States is presently verifying Soviet ASAT developments. Three months ago, copies of the third edition of the now annual Pentagon digest, *Soviet Military Power*, were sent to journalists throughout the West, including the *New Statesman*. The 136-page document gives extremely precise details of Soviet 'Anti-satellite systems — current systems and force levels':

> The antisatellite interceptor is launched from Tyuratam, where two launch pads and storage space for additional interceptors and launch vehicles are available. Several interceptors could be launched each day from each of the pads . . .

Since the present Soviet ASAT system is missile based, the United States can monitor ASAT missiles in the same way that it keeps ICBMs under surveillance. In contrast, the American type of ASAT system would be extremely hard to verify, as it merely involves slightly larger than usual air-to-air missiles carried on normal fighter aircraft. However, the US system is still under development and has yet to be properly tested.

Effective tests of anti-satellite systems can in any case only be conducted in space and are, therefore, easy to monitor and curb. A US-USSR joint moratorium on testing, followed by an early treaty negotiation, would solve the verification problem by blocking any development of difficult-to-verify ASAT systems. In these circumstances, American government lack of interest in an ASAT treaty, while it is itself developing a relatively unverifiable ASAT system, must seem suspicious to the Russians. The US stance is reminiscent of Defence Department officials' enthusiasm in the 1970s for deploying cruise missiles, because they were 'SALT-free' — i.e. unverifiable and therefore useful in preventing disarmament treaties. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FRANCE

# Right on the move

## Paul Hainsworth sets the recent poll gains of the National Front in their historical context

THE FRENCH National Front's vote in last month's Euro-election (over 2 million votes, 11 per cent of the poll and 10 seats in Strasbourg) surpassed the 'wildest expectations' of the extreme Right. Political observers spoke of the emergence of a new force in French and European politics.

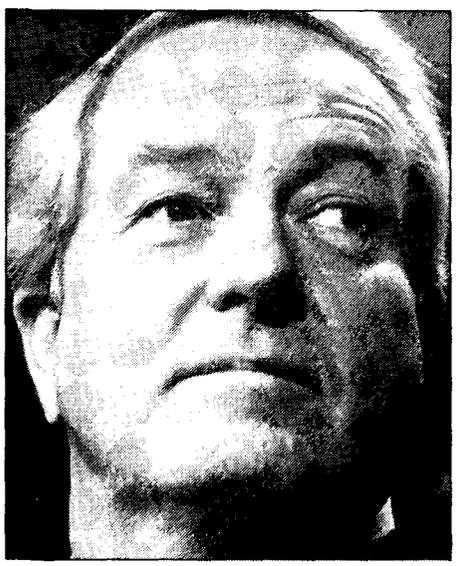
However, to concentrate simply upon the performance of Jean-Marie Le Pen's NF is to ignore the complexity of contemporary French right-wing politics. Two pertinent questions need to be posed: What is the context of the NF's successes? And, how explanatory are the terms *extreme* Right and *traditional* Right in French politics?

Four basic strands may be identified: (a) fascistic, neo-Nazi, militant *groupuscules*, parties or movements, prone to violent or rowdy activities. Some of these groups are proscribed from time to time, only to resurface under different guises; (b) parties and organisations, including for example the NF, unquestionably of the same extremist family but more prepared to contest elections, court widespread support and look for agreements with the traditional Right. (c) 'the New Right' — not to be equated simply with the Anglo-Saxon movement of the same name. Essentially, it represents a body of philosophical-cum-intellectual opinion which endeavours to contest left-wing ideology, serve as a bank of ideas for the whole right, present a coherent, ideological alternative to the Left and rejuvenate right-wing thinking. The New Right's favoured channels of propaganda include political 'clubs', dinner debates, the publishing houses, the media and informal discussions drawing in politicians, civil servants, academics, intellectuals, journalists and other elites; (d) finally, there is the traditional or parliamentary Right, dominated by Jacques Chirac's (neo-) Gaullists (the RPR) and the Union for French Democracy (UDF) coalition, including supporters of former President Giscard d'Estaing and ex-Premier Raymond Barre.

There is, of course, a considerable overlap, an interchange of ideas and personnel between these categories. For example, similar theories straddle the contemporary French Right — bio-politics, xenophobia, anti-semitism, the defence of Western civilisation, racism, anti-communism, personality cult and privatisation of industry. The NF's European showing may be seen as part of a general growing together of Right-wing forces and ideas in the post-Gaullist era. Thus, the current propagation of anti-immigrant themes by the NF follows similar propaganda by the traditional Right. In 1976, Prime Minister Chirac put forward the view that 'a country with 900,000 unemployed and 2 million immigrant workers should logically have no trouble about employment'. In 1984, the NF's Euro-campaign (including repatriation and the withdrawal of social security benefits for immigrants) echoed this theme.

The National Front's Euro-vote constituted a victory for Jean-Marie Le Pen's tactics of contesting elections. By contrast, in the 1979 Euro-election, the NF's supporters had been conspicuous for disrupting Simone Weil's UDF meetings — throwing eggs and attacking Weil as 'a dirty Jew', responsible for killing French babies (as Giscard's Minister of Health, Weil had liberalised the law on abortion). In 1984, the NF entered the political arena against Weil's RPR-UDF alliance.

Le Pen had been elected as a Poujadist MP in 1956, only to lose his seat in the subsequent Gaullist tide. It is instructive to look back at that period. The first decade of de Gaulle's Fifth Republic (1958-1968) was marked by extreme hostility between the traditional Right and the extreme Right over the Algerian question. This



Henri Gautier/Camera Press

**Le Pen: ex-Poujadist NP leader. Has he led the extreme Right back into mainstream French politics?**

was the time of attempted extreme Right-wing assassinations of de Gaulle, proscriptions of movements such as the OAS (Secret Army Organisation) — a body supported by Le Pen — and the prosecution of extreme activists.

But the events of May 1968 proved to be a watershed, leading to the rehabilitation of the extreme Right in French politics. They led to the exit of de Gaulle, amnesties for OAS convicts and the eventual restructuring of the French Right.

MAY 1968 sent shivers through the whole of the French Right (and not only the Right, of course) and signalled the need to rethink its strategy. Gaullists and Giscardians subsequently combined in a sometimes fragile *modus vivendi*, designed to retain political power for the Right in the post-de Gaulle era and the New Right emerged as a discernible ideological force.

The regained confidence and political rehabilitation of the extreme New Right was essentially a product of the Giscard years. Indeed, in his book *Ici et Maintenant* (Paris 1980), Mitterrand complains that members of extreme right-wing organisations were open collaborators of the President, adopted as MPs, or recruited as policemen: 'At the time of a debate with Giscard d'Estaing on *Europe 1* in 1974 . . . I was astonished to recognise amongst the guests some armed commanders of the extreme Right or former members of the OAS' [acting as Giscard's bodyguards], he wrote.

All the elements of the Right, of course, dreaded another May 1968 and this fear was heightened by the resurgence of the Left in the 1970s — notably with the Common Programme of 1972 and the formation of the union of Socialists (PS) and Communists (PCF). The Right's shared common enemy became a unifying reality after the Socialist election victories of 1981 and the inclusion of the Communists in government.

Since losing power, some on the Right have called into question the 'legitimacy' (as opposed to the electoral 'legality') of the Mitterrand victory. They have claimed that the Socialists have lost the authority of their mandate by including the Communists in government, by suffering a variety of local or European electoral defeats and by trying to push through unpopular legislation. When the Right lost power in 1981, Chirac boasted that the Socialist experiment would only last two years and leading Gaullists seemed unwilling to accept the principle of alternating political power. What did this all mean — a resort to *coup d'état* politics? A May 1968 in reverse?

To be fair, Chirac has since retreated and accepted the legitimacy of Socialist rule — but the same crusade has been taken by Le Pen and Co. In his victory speech, Le Pen returned to the theme of the illegitimacy of Mitterrand's regime, comparing the French President with Chile's Allende: 'The government only represents one in three (voters), it cannot continue making its Marxist revolution, otherwise it will go the way of Allendism'.

Since the European elections, Chirac has promised 'no compromises' with the NF and continues to enjoy the apparently moderate image that comes from there now being a significant political force to the right of his RPR. He has been trying to revamp his political image for the 1988 Presidential elections. This was evident in the Euro-election as Chirac masterminded the allied RPR-UDF campaign, under Weil's moderating leadership.

This opportunist unity on the traditional Right created the vacuum into which the NF stepped. The NF vote, therefore, may be seen as a protest against the lack of choice for the rest of the Right imposed by the RPR-UDF common Euro-front. This could have been reinforced by misgiving about Weil's leadership of this front and discontent with Chirac's ambivalent postures. The NF came over as the most strident opponent of the Mitterrand regime and reaped the benefits of opposition campaigns against the government (especially over its proposals to restrict Catholic teaching). The NF was able to pose as the 'real' opponent of Marxism — castigating Weil as 'a woman of the Left' and trading on real or manufactured fears about immigration and insecurity. □

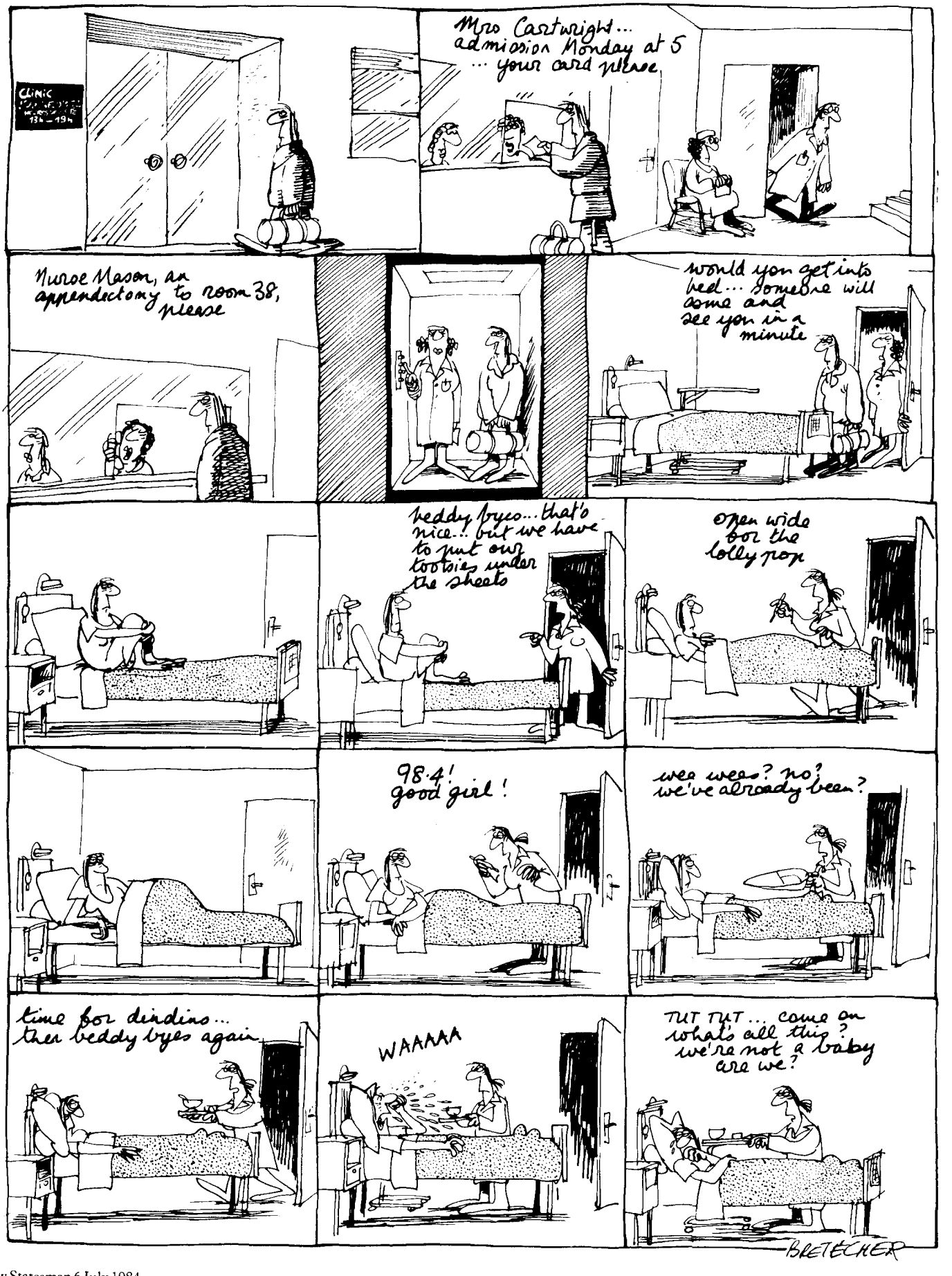
*Paul Hainsworth is Lecturer in Politics at the Ulster Polytechnic.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BRETECHER

## GAME OF PATIENCE


CLINIC
Mrs Castwright... admission Monday at 5 ... your card please
Nurse Mason, an appendectomy to room 38, please
would you get into bed... someone will come and see you in a minute
beddy byes... that's nice... but we have to put our tootsies under the sheets
open wide for the lolly pop
98.4! good girl!
wee wees? no? we've already been?
time for dindins... then beddy byes again
WAAAAA
TUT TUT... come on what's all this? we're not a baby are we?
BRETECHER



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LETTERS

## Sistertech

*Microsyster, London WC2*

'I look forward to a feminism that is comfortable with electronics', says 'Islander' (*NS* 22 June), obviously hoping this sort of feminism will be less likely to take him to task for being patronising or just plain sexist. Unfortunately for him, there already is such a thing and it doesn't find him more amusing than the 'wary' sort.

There has been a National Women and Computing Network active in this country for several years, and this year in particular has seen a rapid growth of interest in the possibilities of using new technology for the Women's Liberation Movement. Two long-standing groups, Microsyster and Central London Women and Computing, have been able to expand their work with the help of the GLC: the latter has just set up a centre to run courses in microcomputing for women, which are already oversubscribed, and the former — ourselves — has been talking with several feminist groups a week who are either investigating buying a computer or who wish to use our microcomputer facilities for direct campaigning work. A newer group, Women in Information Technology (particularly in 'viewdata' technology), is discussing ways of using Prestel to spread information about women's activities.

None of this, of course, makes us any more fascinated by macho language or games. Three reasons, among others, help to explain why more women aren't more involved in home computing — their far smaller disposable incomes and time, and men's far greater ability to hog what could be shared machines. But women, given a chance to get to a micro, can certainly see as well as 'Islander' how we can use them to our benefit.

## Storm over sacking

*Avtar Singh Jouhal, General Secretary Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain; Roger Kline, Research Worker Trade Union Resource Centre; Cllr Mick Rice, Secretary Birmingham Trades Council; Cllr Phil Murphy, Employment Officer, Commission for Racial Equality (personal capacity)*

Chris Pond of the Low Pay Unit (Letters 29 June) attacks Amrit Wilson's 'confusion' about the reasons for the dismissal of Raghib Ahsan from the West Midlands Low Pay Unit. His letter paints a picture of a worker dismissed for refusing to abide by collective decisions, preferring instead to conduct a 'lone and disparate campaign' which undermined staff morale. According to Chris Pond, there are no policy differences about the conduct of the Unit's work in the West Midlands.

The sacking of Ashan has, regrettably, done a disservice to the name of the Low Pay Unit in the West Midlands. What Chris Pond has nowhere explained is why there has been such a local uproar in the labour and black movement about Ahsan's dismissal.

Chris Pond suggests that far from Ahsan putting in the work on the pamphlet 'Below the Minimum' and organising the important meeting, he was out of the country at the crucial time. In fact, for the record, Ahsan researched and wrote the first draft of the pamphlet but had to return to Pakistan as his father had died before the final draft could be done. Secondly, Ahsan did do the important organising work for the key meeting attended by 60 local workers, notably by using his long-established roots in the community and by addressing the factory gate meeting from which many of the women workers at the meeting came. The role of other staff members was confined to writing letters and a refusal to take part in mass leafletting.

More important than the misrepresentation of Ahsan's work is Chris Pond's evasion of two issues. First, he has not explained why Ahsan was *instantly* dismissed as if he had committed gross industrial misconduct, without any previous written or verbal warnings. Second, he has not tackled the differences that *do* exist about the best way to take forward work among the low-paid locally. Sacking Ahsan will not make these differences go away.

Our movement is littered with organisations that publish pamphlets but leave the organising work to other people. It was Ahsan's departure from this style towards a more active involvement in campaigning at a grass-roots level that led to the friction.

The central issue remains the refusal of the Low Pay Unit workers to work with Ahsan while the local community is saying this is unacceptable. Ahsan's work, together with others, will continue whatever final decision Chris Pond takes about his continued employment. What is less clear is whether the Low Pay Unit locally would be able to continue such work, since Ahsan's dismissal will surely lead to irreparable damage to their work in this area.

As members of the West Midlands Low Pay Unit Consultative Committee, we hope this doesn't happen. But the discussion about the best direction for such work cannot take a constructive course until Ahsan is reinstated and the essential truth of Amrit Wilson's article is accepted.

## Dilly dallying

*Mike Drew, Association of Liberal Councillors*

John Rentoul's report 'Alliance dalliance with Tories in hung councils' (*NS* 22 June) contains a number of errors. John Rentoul says that Liberals failed to support Labour to take over the administration in Bristol and Exeter. This is not the case.

In Bristol the Liberals supported Labour despite considerable efforts by the Labour Party to force the Liberals to vote for a Tory administration. Labour at first said that they could not accept the principle that each committee should reflect the balance of the council as a whole. Labour wanted to pack the committees in their favour. The Tories were prepared to accept the Liberals holding the balance on the committees. Only at the last minute did Labour accept the reality of the three parties.

I would not be surprised that a similar attitude by other Labour groups left Liberal councillors little choice in backing the Tories. There seems to be an attempt by the Left to portray the Liberal Party as pale Tories but in my experience many Labour councillors are a good deal closer to the Tories than most Liberals.

*David Lepper, Leader of Labour Group, Brighton Council*

John Rentoul's comment that in Brighton Labour can be 'accused of maintaining Conservatives in power by refusing to come to an arrangement with the Alliance' is an interpretation of the situation which overlooks important points.

In local elections over a number of years Brighton Labour Party has made it absolutely clear locally that we would not make a pact with another party in order to run the town. In our manifesto we have put forward detailed, socialist proposals for the town and have seen a steady increase in the Labour vote and a steady decline in the Tory/Alliance vote.

Locally it becomes increasingly difficult to define Alliance policy on a whole range of important issues. It is also noticeable that frequently the three Liberals and one SDP member are themselves split on how to vote.

It would be both politically unprincipled and, in practical terms, irresponsible for us to consider joining with such a group. We are certainly not prepared to alter our policies to accommodate the whims of the Alliance. That is no basis for power. And we do not believe that our supporters would want us to take such action.

At present the balance of parties in Brighton is Tory 23, Labour 21, Alliance 4. All current signs indicate that we can win three more seats when Brighton votes again in 1986. That will be the time for Labour to take power.

## Political levy

*Michael Ivens, Director, Aims of Industry*

John McIlroy's account of trade unions and the political levy (*NS* 22 June) is generally good and comprehensive. There are three important points, however, that he omits.

The first is that as a result of pressure, the government is now committed to making it illegal for employers to deduct the political levy from trade unionists who have opted out. This practice is widespread in nationalised and private industry.

He states that 'stories of arm twisting and intimidation' on the political levy are 'apocryphal'. We have had a number of complaints and we gave some assistance to Mr Jack Cleminson who, for 13 years tried to opt out of paying the political levy to the POEU. It was continually knocked off, he did not get his money back, and he was threatened with loss of job by the trade union for making a nuisance of himself.

There is certainly evidence that trade unionists do not know what is going on. An NOP poll for Aims showed that 40 per cent of all non-Labour trade unionists paid the levy, and 25 per cent did not know whether they did or not! In *Marxism Today*, Mr Pete Carter said that when collecting union dues he had never let members know that they were forking out the levy!

Finally, there may be a case for abolishing the political fund system (and presumably getting rid of political contributions for companies). But this would also presumably mean an end of the block vote system for the Labour Party. For the political levy is about power as much as it is about money. And, as I am sure Mr McIlroy knows, some trade unions are not above boosting the number of people paying the levy in order to gain more votes at the Labour Party Conference.

## For the record

*John Lucas, Nottingham*

Alistair Elliot (Letters 29 June) says I'm wrong to claim that Randall Jarrell didn't fight in the Second World War. Robert Lowell says Jarrell was an aviation instructor. Elliot also implies that I wrongly identified 'the American consciousness of the First World War'. But I never mentioned it. I wrote that 'in a sense the second war was America's first'. What is wrong with that? He says I 'cruelly misread' Anthony Thwaite's 'Mr Cooper'. How? Let him say or withdraw his remark. He speaks of my one-paragraph review. There was in fact more but it had to be cut.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

David Caute

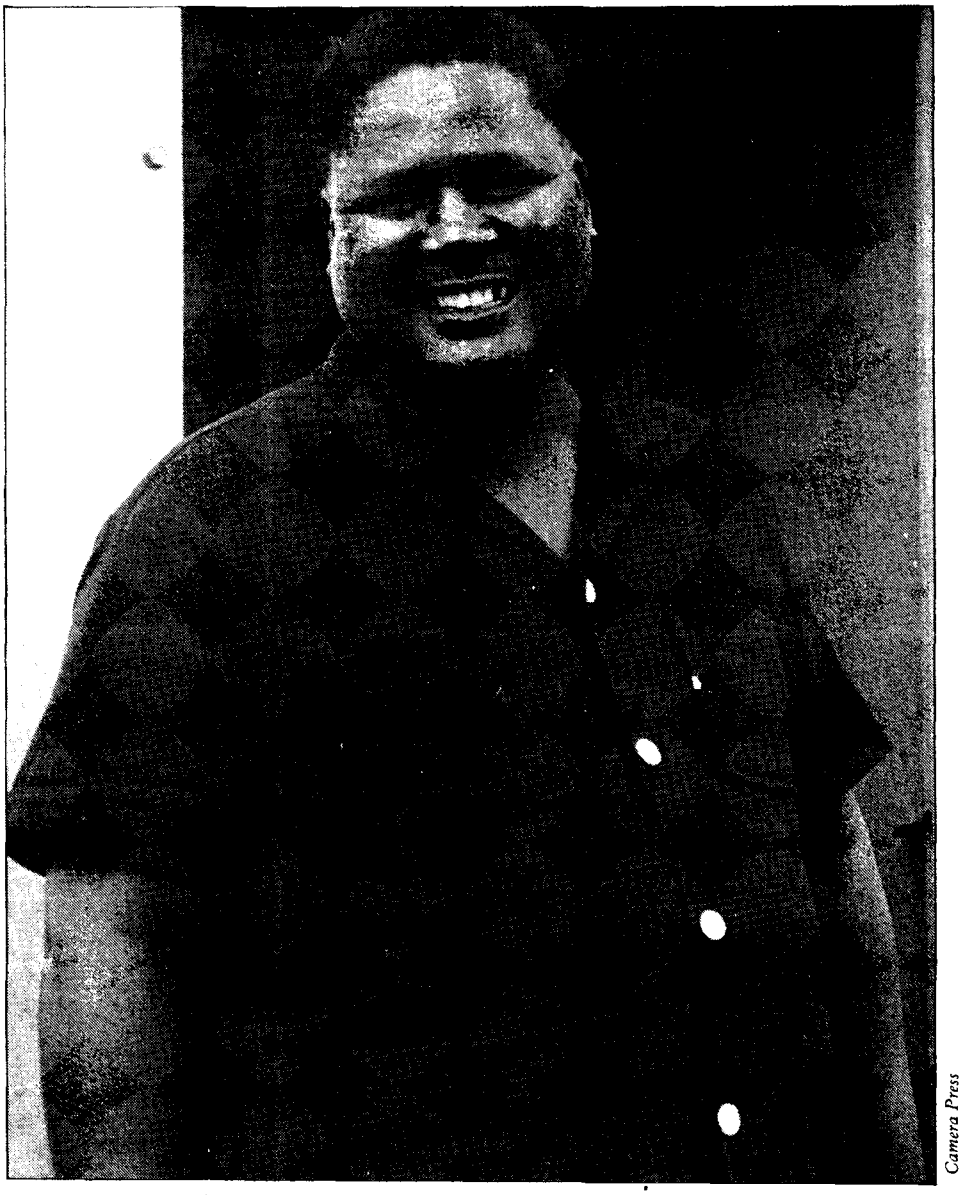
# Cousins without knees

**The Story of My Life**
JOSHUA NKOMO *Methuen* £9.95
**White Farmers in Rhodesia, 1890-1965: A History of the Marandellas District**
RICHARD HODDER-WILLIAMS *Macmillan* £25
**Past and Present in Zimbabwe**
ed. J.D.Y. PEEL and TERENCE RANGER
*Manchester* £7.50

'The leaders of the party that won (by questionable means but let that pass for now) our first elections believed that I symbolised the national unity that they rejected. So I became the focus of their anger, perhaps of their envy.' The voice, unmistakably, is that of Joshua Nkomo whose years of struggle, imprisonment and exile finally yielded the bitter fruit of 3 March 1980: only 20 seats out of a possible 80 in Zimbabwe's first parliament.

Nkomo's autobiography opens, in the modern style, with a prologue which will also serve as epilogue — an account of his flight, just three years later, across a dry river bed into Botswana. The Fifth Brigade, claims Nkomo, had already shot three of his people at his home in Bulawayo when he agreed under pressure from his wife to go into exile. Again the sentiment is bitter: 'Robert Mugabe had decided to have me out of the way, and he evidently did not care what method was used.'

The photographs in Nkomo's **Story of My Life** tell a poignant story of their own. They have been selected — one soon perceives — to demonstrate how, 24 years ago, Nkomo was unchallenged leader of Zimbabwean nationalism. A snapshot from 1960 shows Nkomo and Kaunda waving to followers at Salisbury airport with Robert Mugabe, then merely publicity secretary, in solemn attendance. We see Nkomo leaving constitutional talks in 1961 with the marble-eyed Ndabaningi Sithole (later his rival as first President of Zanu) following in his wake. The message is clear but the inference is sad; indeed the photographs also chart the Zapu leader's dramatic decline from lean and muscular manhood into the obesity of the later years — a change that Nkomo explains in terms of his prison diet during the exile in the wilderness at Gonakuzingwa. It was seven years before the Smith regime, the guardians of 'law and order' and civilised standards, permitted him his first visit from his wife.



Camera Press

**Joshua Nkomo in exile in the 1960s: 'dramatic decline from lean and muscular manhood'**

Predictably, Nkomo's version of history is unrelentingly self-serving. Contrary to received belief, Nkomo insists that he never did concede a white-dominated legislature when negotiating with Duncan Sandys in 1961 — Sandys was simply lying about it. The Lusaka Agreement of 1974 between the Zimbabwean factions broke down, he claims, because only Zapu abided by it. His account of the shooting down of the Viscount airliner, the 'Hunyani', in September 1978, bears little resemblance to the reality. What actually occurred was that of the 18 survivors of the Sam 7 missile strike on the airliner, ten were massacred by Zipra guerrillas while eight others managed to hide, then slip away to safety the following day. My own interviews with survivors leave no doubt in my mind about this. Yet Nkomo claims:

> Some of our Zipra boys did approach the crash site, and did help the eight survivors to get to safety, bringing them water and looking after them. I truly have no idea how the ten died. I do not believe they were killed by our people: I hope not.

And then there is the small matter of Tiny Rowland's financial support. Whenever Nkomo wanted air tickets for himself and his aides he had only to pick up the phone to Rowland's office. Nevertheless, 'Rowland did not appear to want anything in return or to be planning for me to take high office after independence.' Nkomo insists that Rowland's generosity brought him no personal wealth. But how did Nkomo acquire the impressive array of farms and properties which were confiscated by the Mugabe Government after vast stockpiles of arms were found on them early in 1982? It is, of course, a constant feature of African political life that wealth accrues from power and office, whereas the classic European model is that wealth buys power.

Nkomo was never a socialist despite his occasional appearances in the uniform of a Soviet marshal or his grateful acceptance of East German patronage. Zapu's election manifesto of 1980 barely touched on the huge hunger for land reform and the redistribution of wealth demanded by the peasantry and guerrilla



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cadres. Nkomo's admiration for the Emperor Haile Selassie is revealing: 'Yet his palace was not set apart in some remote suburb, but opened straight out into the crowded slums of the capital.' Yes indeed: one recalls the scene at the first OAU meeting in Addis Abbaba in 1963 when Haile Selassie's servants tossed the leftovers from the plates of Nasser & Co to the huddle of shoeless beggars who clustered in the rain behind the kitchens. Nkomo tells us that the Emperor 'understood in his heart the real problems of Africa'. But the Emperor, who stashed away millions in Switzerland and in the hollowed-out Bibles decorating the Lion of Judah's study, *was* the real problem of Africa.

At first glance, Richard Hodder-Williams's book and Nkomo's merely reveal the existence of two mutually antagonistic Rhodesias. But I am struck by the overlap where the two authors talk of religion and the importation of Christianity to colonised Africa. In **White Farmers in Rhodesia**, Hodder-Williams offers a fascinating short section on the role of the black catechists who served as indispensable intermediaries in the 1890s for the thrusting European missionaries. Bernard Mizeki, for example, who came up from the Cape with the first wave of Rhodes-sponsored pioneers, spoke English, High Dutch, Portuguese and several vernaculars fluently, apart from being well versed in French, Latin and Greek. Mizeki even kept animals as pets — in European eyes a sure sign of genuine assimilation — and played Western music. To what avail? Little, I think: the missionary presence was inevitably and correctly perceived by Shonas and Ndebeles as an extension of colonial rule: the churches 'pegged lots' (grabbed native land) under the protection of the colonising power no less avidly than did gold prospectors and farmers.

And what do we find, a few decades later? Nkomo recalls how between the ages of eight and 14 he became absorbed in the traditional Kalanga religion, stealing away from home to secret ceremonies. Later, as an emergent black political leader in the 1950s, he visited the shrine where Mwali (Kalanga for God) resides in the Matopos hills. He was led to an overhanging slab of granite where those present began a soft rhythm of clapping until suddenly a voice like that of an ancient prophet called them each by name. The voice promised to give them their land but only after 30 years of war — this had to happen because, despite Mwali's advice to King Lobengula, the Ndebele monarch had insisted on fighting 'his cousins who were coming into the land, his cousins without knees'.

The clash of indigenous and alien cultures in the context of economic imperialism generates bizarre hybrids. In a fascinating essay, 'Tradition and Travesty', Terence Ranger traces the interaction of colonial officials and local chiefs in the Makoni district during the period 1960-80. Drawing on archives made available to him after Zimbabwe's Independence, Ranger traces the increasingly desperate efforts of Internal Affairs (heir to Native Affairs) to check and thwart mounting nationalist guerrilla activity by bolstering the authority of amenable tribal chiefs. The oration delivered to the Chiduku people in December 1975 by District Commissioner Bickersteth must rank, as Terence Ranger comments, as 'one of the most extraordinary orations in African administrative history' — and indeed as indirect proof that colonialism must, in the hour of its extremity, yield to the very 'dark superstitions' which it originally claimed to extirpate. The quotation that follows forms part of one of several valuable and scholarly articles which have been grouped together under the title **Past and Present in Zimbabwe** by Ranger and J.D.Y. Peel.

> In your tribe you have decided no longer to follow custom and it is quite apparent that your spirits are not satisfied with things... I have heard that people do not follow custom and have ignored it. The spirit of Mavudzi has not been prayed to for many years. You have failed to put the spirits in appeasement... If no rain comes I will not be surprised, you have got yourselves into a dreadful state.

The District Commissioner would surely have better directed his energies by delivering these words to the annual congress of the Rhodesian Front. □

## GUATEMALA
Nicci Gerrard

# No crying

**I . . . Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala**
ed. ELISABETH BURGOS-DEBRAY
*NLB* £18.50 *Verso* £4.95

We are daily faced with testimonies of appalling oppression and statistics of human rights' violations which perhaps desensitise our human and political reactions. The simple voice of Rigoberta Menchu, a young Quiché-Indian peasant who is the national leader of the Revolutionary Christian Group in her country, cuts through the distance we place between ourselves and the chorus of suffering. In her introduction to the interviews with her that make up this autobiography, Elisabeth Burgos-Debray calls her the 'privileged witness' who 'refuses to let us forget'.

Rigoberta Menchu has dedicated her life to a cause, so that her personal story simultaneously unfolds the experiences of the 22 other tribes in Guatemala. In her culture, where deep religious faith and social revolt are indivisible, where 'everything that is done today is done in the memory of those that have passed on', and where the individual and community are balanced in a system of generous, ordered interchange, the subjective 'I' can efface itself and speak in the name of the inarticulate thousands.

*I . . . Rigoberta Menchu* is a cry to all those who focus their attention on El Salvador and Nicaragua and neglect the fierce racism, injustice and murder in Guatemala.

Rigoberta Menchu was born into an Indian village in the mountains 23 years ago. She describes how ancestral values are reverently handed down and children are immediately initiated into their history of suffering but at the same time are taught 'to love everything that exists'. This gentleness can slide into submission. At the age of eight Rigoberta is already a full-time worker ('we have no adolescence') when she sees her brother slowly die of malnutrition. Her angry response contrasts with her tenth birthday message: 'I would have my ambitions but . . . My life wouldn't change, it would go on the same — work, poverty, suffering.'

By 12 Rigoberta is a catechist, but one 'who walks upon this earth, not one who thinks only of the Kingdom of God'. Her growing anger is charted by tragedy: the deaths of family and friends and the degradation of working as a maid in the capital erodes inherited fatalism. She learns Spanish, the language of repression, as a weapon to turn against her enemies. The increasing maturity of her political vision accompanies the growth of the organised Indian resistance, and Rigoberta's achievement is that she translates complex social and political struggles into emotional, almost naive, statements. When she reports destructions of entire villages her childlike interjections force the reader to confront the basic human cruelty lying behind political injustice: 'We love our land very much. Since those people tried to take our land away, we have grieved very much... in the past, no one person owned the land. The land belonged to everyone.'

With the coming to power of the García Lucas regime in 1978 the savagery against the Indians increased. Rigoberta's own experiences bear witness to this: her younger brother is kidnapped, horrifically mangled and slaughtered in front of his family. With its deadpan description of the torture, where for 16 days stones are thrust into his eyes, his testicles are tightly tied, his flesh cut from his face and body and he is thrown into a well full of corpses, this book comes closest to a vision of hell on earth. Rigoberta's beloved father dies in the occupation of the Spanish Embassy, an event which calls forth from his daughter an appeal heartrending for how little it asks: 'we must give our lives, I know — but not altogether. Let it be one at a time so that someone is left.' Finally her mother is repeatedly raped, terribly tortured and left to die covered in flies and urinated on by soldiers. Rigoberta's restrained elegy for the victims, who simply refused to give up their rightful land — 'We have to keep this grief as a testimony to them' — is also a pledge of action: 'no crying; fighting's what we want.'

Since these incidents Rigoberta has renounced marriage and motherhood and devoted herself to the struggle against injustice and exploitation. She has also renounced fatalism. In spite of a deep religious commitment, she criticises priests 'for they have taught us to accept many things, to be passive, to be a dormant people'. As an 'Indian*ist*', a Christian and a young vital woman, she names her struggle as one of 'faith'. Her cause, 'born out of wretchedness and bitterness', rests on the belief that 'happiness belongs to everyone, but that happiness has been stolen by a few'. The basic simplicity of the message lying beneath layers of fact and ideology informs also Rigoberta's undramatic voice, wisely left by Elisabeth Burgos-Debray to speak for itself. It is a voice that in spite of past and present horrors can state, 'Today I can say it is a struggle which cannot be stopped.' □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

### The Untravelled World: A Memoir

MICHAEL ADAMS *Quartet* £11.95

RAF pilot, PoW, escapee, undergraduate, traveller, freelance writer and finally newspaperman, Adams, like Harry Flashman, seems inadvertently always to turn up at the right place at the right time.

Touring America in a haphazard, initially uninformed fashion, he found himself attending one of the South's more notorious race trials, the Braden case. (Braden was charged with advocating sedition after he had sold his house to a black family, but some of the most damning evidence was that he read books of which good Kentuckians disapproved, including those by *Communists*. Witnesses were brought in on his behalf to report that such books were sold openly in New York.) Then Adams turned up in Cairo as *Manchester Guardian* Middle East correspondent in time to cover what must have been, for a British reporter, the biggest story since the war. Unlike Flashman, Adams stays resolutely on the sidelines with only a strong moral sense to guide him. He is as modest as Flashman was dashing.

He is an innocent abroad, striving always to be fair — finding, for example, what was good in American white southerners, even as he despised their racism. In these memoirs of the years 1939-1956 Michael Adams emerges as what those of us who have worked with him know him to be: a decent, humane man. But he is always the honourable public schoolboy, terribly discreet. The book ends (he promises a second volume) with the reader wondering whether the author — who, by 1956, is in his mid-30s — can possibly still be a virgin. Does he avoid referring to love affairs because he didn't have them, because they were unimportant or because gentlemen do not discuss such things?

He did have an apparently chaste romance with a Finnish girl in France just before the war. She returned to Finland and they were unable to communicate after the Russian invasion. She waited for him right through and for some months after the war before marrying a Finnish suitor whom she did not love. In response to her later revelation of this, Adams writes only, 'I went very pensively to bed that night.'

He is still something of a romantic and recurring strains of music and poetry permeate his memory. This is perhaps due to the influence of his father, whose long letters and parcels of Browning, Shakespeare and Milton sustained him through the long years in German PoW camps. One longs to meet the father, which we never do, and to understand the obvious love between father and son. Again, Adams's reticence prevents us entering this door.

The doors he does allow us to enter open on to a world long gone, of a war-ravaged Europe, of an Egypt under British rule and later taking its first steps towards independence, and of an England where literacy and learning were still valued for their own sake. Most of all, it is a world peopled by eccentric and delightful characters, not the least of whom is the author himself.

**Charles Glass**

### Two Men Were Acquitted: The Trial and Acquittal of John Bodkin Adams

PERCY HOSKINS *Secker* £9.95

It was Dr John Bodkin Adams's misfortune that the mischievous rumours circulating about him in cosy Eastbourne made such a rattling good story: apparently innocuous doctor knocks off elderly patients to collect legacies bequeathed to him on account of his charming bedside manner.

The tabloids picked up the gossip and went to town — 'Yard Probe Mass Poisoning', etc. No one had actually been poisoned of course — the patients had all died naturally — but you can't keep good copy down. The truth apparently concerned no one except Michael Foot, who inveighed against such blatant trial-by-newspaper in *Tribune*; and Percy Hoskins, of the *Daily Express*, who realised from the outset that the whole business was a Fleet Street fantasy.

Hoskins shows the extraordinary way in which the police, in the inconvenient absence of any evidence, constructed a prosecution case on the rumours instead. An eminent physician rallied to the cause and the Attorney-General led for the prosecution at the Old Bailey. In the end, the case was dismantled with the help of some luck, a sense of civic responsibility from one member of the public and a defence case conducted by Sir Geoffrey Lawrence QC which Hoskins describes as 'superb'.

However the trial was one of the most sensational of the Fifties and the malicious rumours were never entirely dissipated. They resurfaced again in the press last year when Adams died. (Hoskins declined to publish the book during the lifetimes of Adams and the police officer concerned.)

The reader is left with two abiding impressions. First, the British legal system had obviously been perilously close to another fatal cock-up. Would Adams have been hanged if his case had not been heard by a judge of such perception — Lord Devlin, as he now is — and defended by such an expert barrister?

Second, the way in which Hoskins, to the consternation of Beaverbrook, his paper's proprietor, refused to become part of the press witch-hunt undoubtedly aided Adams's cause. (At the time, the *Express* was the biggest-selling daily.) Where in the tabloid press today would an innocent man find a journalist of equivalent moral courage?

**Bob Woffinden**

### A New Reader's Guide to African Literature

ed. HANS M. ZELL, CAROL BUNDY and VIRGINIA COULON

*Heinemann Educational* £25 & £12.50

The emergence of African Literature in the Fifties and Sixties, coinciding as it did with the movements for independence on the continent, was one of the most remarkable events in world literature. In the space of barely 20 years Africa produced an astonishing number of novelists, playwrights and poets who set themselves the task of exploring the nature of the colonial experience and its implications for the politics of the newly emergent states.

Since the 1970s there has been a fresh outburst of creativity by a younger generation of African writers. As the editors of this excellent Guide point out, this second generation is much more concerned with 'the contemporary scene' than with colonialism and the past. This is hardly surprising. Many of these writers grew up in countries which had already achieved independence and the injustices they witnessed were being perpetrated not by nasty white Europeans but by nasty black Africans. Civil war, military dictatorship and one-party rule was the new reality: it was to this that they responded.

This second explosion has necessitated this updated guide, which lists over 3,000 authors as opposed to the 820 in the 1972 edition. It is absolutely indispensable to anyone interested in African writing. The editors' intention 'to provide a practical, easy-to-handle, and typographically attractive handbook and reference tool . . .[that] aims to be as comprehensive as possible . . .' has been admirably achieved. Not only does it contain an exhaustive country-by-country bibliography and detailed biographies of nearly 100 of the most important authors, but also sections on children's literature, magazines and critical books.

One criticism, however, must be made. Why have the editors omitted white African writers? Nadine Gordimer, Alan Paton and Athol Fugard, for instance, are not mentioned. Are they not African because they are white? And, if so, why the inclusion of Luandino Vieira, the Portuguese-born Angolan novelist and short story writer? This seems to me a serious omission if only because of its political, racialist implications: if only black people are Africans then it can be equally argued that only white people are Europeans.

**Adewale Maja-Pearce**

### Precautions Against Death

MARIA JACOBS *John Calder (for Mosaic Press)* £4.95

Holland has had its share of fine hours, but the finest must be the wartime behaviour of so many Dutch people who risked their lives to protect both refugees and Jewish compatriots, now suddenly alien and persecuted by a foreign occupation. This is the other side of the Anne Frank coin — the casually heroic gentiles who would not be a part of the insanity. Like Oskar Schindler, Maria's mother suddenly perceives the evil of Nazism by a telling detail. She watches a sergeant punish a soldier for breaking stride while the other soldiers indifferently look straight ahead. 'If they do that to their own, can you imagine what they do to their prisoners?' the mother wonders. A divorcée with two children, she nevertheless hides four Jews for the duration.

Maria Jacobs, long since settled in Canada, remembers the occupation and her dangerous *ménage* with both the perceptions of the child she was then and the adult's present perspective. The narrative of these keen memories — precisely how one gathers the best beech nuts, the way a goose was boiled for a special stew — is interspersed with poems from the points of view of the child and the other residents of the house.

'I knew she was right/Just by watching the tilt/Of her chin,' she says of her mother. Staying alive and keeping one's 'hidden friends' alive is a full-time job. They saw up trees at dawn for fuel and wait in long queues for water from a public pump. They devise ingenious hiding places and camouflaged trap-doors. Back-breaking labour alternates with tedium; love blossoms among them along with the irritations of hungry people living in cramped quarters and constantly afraid for their lives.

Now 40 years have passed and the wartime household is scattered from Holland to Israel to Canada. Even the postwar marriage of Maria's mother and Eli, one of the secret lodgers, has amicably foundered. Maria is now at home in the exotic language of her Canadian liberators of 40 years ago. 'But,' she says, 'the language my mother speaks to Eli and me is the same one Eli speaks to us, and it is the same I speak to them: it has no sound.'

**Sarah Lawson**

**IF IT'S OUT OF PRINT**

Our mail-order warehouse has over 100,000 titles in history, economics, politics, social-economic movements, Afro-Asian-Soviet affairs, war, revolution and peace.

We also buy books, pamphlets and periodicals
Phone 01-876 7254 or write (s.a.e. please)
Barnes High Street, London, SW13

**TRY HAMMERSMITH BOOKS**

Since 1948 a world-wide book service



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## CHILDREN'S LITERATURE
Barbara Taylor

# Out of Eden

**The Case of Peter Pan or The Impossibility of Children's Fiction**
JACQUELINE ROSE *Macmillan* £20 & £6.95

The innocence of childhood: that Eden of sexual, social and linguistic innocence from which all are eventually banished into the corrupting vicissitudes of adult life — all, that is, except one famous boy whose timeless sojourn in the Neverland of pre-pubescence has provided generations of readers and playgoers with an image of eternal, undefiled youth. The fiction of *Peter Pan* is the quintessential piece of 'children's fiction', a text which is not only given *to* the child but also gives us 'the child', an immensely potent fantasy of the lost period of infantile grace prior to the inevitable Fall.

Or so it would seem. Yet anyone actually re-reading *Peter Pan* is immediately struck by the gap between what the book has come to represent and what it actually *says*, particularly about childhood sexuality. *Peter Pan* is in fact a troubling and extremely peculiar tale — and it is for this reason that Jacqueline Rose chose it as the object of her fascinating study. For the peculiarities of *Peter Pan* are, she persuasively argues, symptomatic of the problems surrounding the concept of 'children's fiction' as a whole. What makes *Peter Pan* unique is not its compelling rendering of the myth of childhood innocence (a myth which has dominated children's literature since its inception), but rather the fact that within this particular text the myth reveals itself as such: as a construction motivated by adult wishes and fantasies. Peter Pan does not grow up, Rose notes, 'not because he doesn't want to, but because someone else prefers that he shouldn't', because by holding Peter in childhood it seemed possible to hold stable a set of meanings around childhood — and thus also around adulthood — itself. Peter's heartless innocence and simplicity give comforting assurance to his adult readers that we *have* grown up, the polymorphous pleasures of our Neverlands safely tucked behind us. Or does it?

To read *Peter Pan* in this way, as Rose shows, required a systematic repression of a host of sexual/linguistic disturbances in Barrie's original text. And, like all repressions, it didn't quite do the job. 'The distortion of a text resembles a murder,' Rose quotes Freud, 'the difficulty is not in perpetrating the deed, but in getting rid of its traces.' In documenting the failure of this operation on *Peter Pan*, she reveals the complex set of literary, commercial and institutional mechanisms used to construct a notion of children's literature in general, and in particular a literature considered appropriate for schools. How Peter was made fit for the classroom tells us a great deal about what was wanted of and prohibited to the children who encountered him there — the fictions imposed on them.

J.M. Barrie did not actually write *Peter Pan* as a children's book until 1911, when it had already found a central place within literary production for children — principally as a play. The text which he finally produced (still widely available today) therefore moved into a position already assigned it as a children's 'classic'; and in doing so became in effect a commentary on the conventions of children's literature which it was meant to epitomise. Yet, because *Peter Pan* never quite fitted the meanings assigned to it, its troubling angularity revealed the dimensions of the norms it violated.

For violation is really what *Peter Pan* is about — violation of taboos surrounding the adult/child relationship. This was sharply evident in the first rendering of the tale, which appeared in a novel for adults titled *The Little White Bird* (1902). In this novel the story presented itself as a literary seduction: Peter's history is recounted by a man to a little boy in order to lure the boy away from his parents. Barrie made no effort to conceal the erotic wish displayed here and in the play-scripts derived from the story, where the central characters are invested with sexual/familial meanings which make their encounters read rather like comic-book Freud. Peter, the Darling family, Captain Hook: all move inside a complex network of sexual representations, questions, demands and refusals, whose disturbing effect is heightened by the insistent voice of the narrator himself, speaking simultaneously from the position of adult observer and child participant. Here is one scene from an early version, cut from later editions, in which the Indian princess, Tiger-lily, tries to seduce Peter:

> **Peter** Now then, what is it you *want*?
> **Tiger-lily** Want to be your squaw.
> **Peter** Is that what you want, Wendy?
> **Wendy** I suppose it is, Peter.
> **Peter** Is that what you want, Tink?
> *Bells answer.*
> **Peter** You all three want that. Very well — that's really wishing to be my mother.

And here is the narrator's account of yet another would-be seducer of Peter, Hook, who — foiled yet again — 'felt his ego slipping from him... In the dark nature there was a touch of the feminine, as in all the great pirates' (cut from school texts).

At stake in these and many similar passages is not just what may or may not be said to the child (censoring explicit sexuality) but also *how* it is said.

What is violated, Rose argues, is the canon of 'plain speaking' dominant in children's literature, which links childhood sexual innocence to a notion of an original, innocent language which the child speaks and in which he/she must be addressed. In tracing the development of this notion of linguistic innocence — and the unconscious desires motivating it — Rose makes skilful use (as would be expected of a translator and commentator on Jacques Lacan) of the insights of linguistically-based psychoanalytic theory. But she also displays a sharp historical sensibility, much less common in 'post-structuralist' literary analysis. Her final chapter, in which she shows how these linked ideals of sexual/verbal innocence were enforced in the pre-World War One state educational system, is a nuanced piece of historical analysis, deftly untangling a complex articulation of sexual, class-based and literary conventions. My only complaint with this chapter is that I would have liked more of it: the condensed argument is so interesting that it deserves much greater expansion.

So — a complex, absorbing book whose difficulties are only occasionally stylistic (why do Lacanian-influenced theorists make such heavy use of brackets?) but more often simply those intrinsic to any highly sophisticated argument. Definitely not a book for the children — but with much to say to would-be grown-ups about the 'ongoing sexual and political mystification of the child' imposed not only on Peter Pan but on all of us. □

## BIOGRAPHY
Nigel Cross

# Reflected glory

**Edmund Gosse: A Literary Landscape**
ANN THWAITE *Secker* £15

Edmund Gosse was one of six writers to act as pallbearers at Thomas Hardy's funeral in 1928. The others were Kipling, Shaw, Barrie, Housman and Galsworthy. At last it is Gosse's turn to shake off the dust and face up to a modern biography.

Unlike his fellow pallbearers Gosse has never enjoyed even a brief reputation as a major writer. He wished to be remembered as a great poet, his contemporaries preferred to regard him as the last Victorian man of letters — a critic by any other name.

He was an ardent committee man: he helped secure grants for poor writers; nominated friends for pensions and Nobel prizes; acted as cultural ambassador to America, France and Scandinavia and was the moving spirit behind the exalted but futile Academic Committee of British Letters. He achieved his eminence through his assiduous cultivation of the social and cultural establishment.

In return they defended him from a savage and well merited attack on his poor scholarship by a fellow critic Churton Collins. Collins saw Gosse as the perfect example of that type of ambitious *littérateur* who slides into prominence through an astute mixture of charm, flattery and bluff. He had, as Ann Thwaite convincingly shows, a special talent for collecting influential friends.

Through his father's friendship with Charles Kingsley he was appointed, aged 17, a library assistant at the British Museum. At 21 he wrote a fan letter to the poet and painter William Bell Scott who introduced him to the Pre-Raphaelites, Swinburne, and his future wife. For all his conniving — he adopted the uncrowded field of Scandinavian literature as his specialisation in order to 'make a name for himself' — he was regarded by his friends with



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

great affection.

Although he knew everybody and had real and warm friendships with Swinburne, Henry James, Stevenson and André Gide, Gosse's adult life was, aside from the Collins' episode, uneventful. For 29 years he was a minor civil servant at the Board of Trade, translating 'shockingly dull' trade reports from nine different languages. He was eventually compensated for this servitude by his appointment as Librarian to the House of Lords.

If this was the whole of his life, he would no more rate a full-scale biography than the literary fixers of our own day. But there remain his father and his memoir of their relationship, *Father and Son*. And this is Mrs Thwaite's chief difficulty: *Father and Son* is the one brilliant book by the author of nearly 90 out-of-print titles, and it owes its brilliance as much to the father as to the son. P.H. Gosse, eminent zoologist and scientific populariser, was on the lunatic fringe of Christianity; a devoted member of the Plymouth Brethren, he defended *Genesis*, attacked Darwin and was forever expecting Christ to materialise and take him by the hand, alive, to Heaven. It is to Ann Thwaite's credit that he emerges as more than a religious fanatic and family tyrant. He is shown, as his son saw him, as a strange, simple, terrible and rather beautiful man.

Gosse did not write about his exhausting childhood until he was 57. Thereafter it became routine to remark on his having 'overcome' his upbringing. Yet his upbringing was the inspiration for his only work of lasting importance. *Father and Son* apart, Ann Thwaite cannot point to a work of literary criticism or a volume of poetry of more than fleeting significance. She is more often obliged to put in the boot. Nor does she demonstrate that his influence on the 'literary landscape' amounts to much more than a fund of anecdotes about his literary friends.

It seems inconceivable that for lack of Gosse the work of Hardy and James would be diminished; or that Ibsen would have had to wait for English recognition any longer than it took William Archer to translate his plays; or that Siegfried Sassoon would have failed to write trench poetry, or even that impoverished writers would have been denied grants and pensions. In contrast, the literary forgeries of T.J. Wise owe much to Gosse's credulous imprimatur. Gosse's influence, unlike Edward Garnett's or Edward Marsh's, was intangible. Younger writers have testified that the most remarkable thing about him was that he was the last link with the Victorian giants.

A brief account of Gosse's life can whet the appetite. Ann Thwaite's 512 pages, while undoubtedly definitive, provide a surfeit of detail. Like the vast collection of Gosse letters she has valiantly tracked down in American and British collections, her book is more valuable for the light it throws on Gosse's fellow pallbearers than for the picture it contains of Edmund Gosse. As she points out, his current reputation rests, securely enough, on his childhood memories. But for all that *Father and Son* deserves its place as a literary classic, the triumph is in the story and the story is the father's. □

Anthony Healy

## Doing my best

On a slow November morning
The frost cooked the soil into a many-pointed pie
I was walking down the street and watching my breath freeze
Because I am not a very interesting person

It was early morning when people are getting up or going to work, or perhaps they are taking small children to school
The workmen were dressed as beetles
And the college students were grey aphids or colourful rebels,
Slung under shoulder bags or over sports bags
They called to each other down the street
Or bubbled at the bus-stop
And the younger ones buy sherbert fizzes, and gob-stoppers, and bubble gum, white mice, licorish sticks, chocolate eggs and cola bottles
And then their dinner money is gone
Whilst the men clutch sandwiches wrapped in the grease-proof paper of an empty cereal packet,
Tied with a piece of string or a rubber band

The lamp-posts are just being turned off
Madly, erratically, with no sense of timing or of form
Like some-one who's mentally handicapped
But the bus arrived late again
Because the bus driver doesn't care if we stand in the cold
My chest was still warm from the bed-clothes and the sleep
And I'd forgotten to comb my hair again.
On the bus I sat next to a pretty girl with long dark hair
And at school I read my books
Because I always wanted to do my best.

**FICTION**
Marion Glastonbury

# Food for thought

**Woman at War**
DACIA MARAINI *Lighthouse Books/Writers and Readers* £7.95 & £3.95
**The Collected Stories of Colette**
ed. ROBERT PHELPS *Secker* £12.50
**Old Maids: Short Stories by 19th Century Women Writers**
ed. SUSAN KOPPELMAN *Pandora* £4.95
**Daring to Dream: Utopian Stories by United States Women 1836-1919**
ed. CAROL FARLEY KESSLER *Pandora* £4.95

Stories remembered from childhood are usually full of food; by the same token, the imagination of mature readers may be gripped by alternate servings of gastronomy and sex. This at least appears to be the scheme underlying the summer entries of the heroine's diary in **Woman at War** by Dacia Maraini. Engrossed in the toil of a pauper's holiday during her annual respite from teaching, Vannina chops herbs, cooks the Mediterranean catch brought home daily by her proletarian husband, ministers to his lithe companion, an enigmatic local lad, and welcomes to her bed a frail adolescent who helps her to carry groceries from the market.

Libido is the economic mainstay of this island resort, where gigolos are in great demand and scabrous gossip surrounds each inhabitant. But carnality may prove a trap; edible worlds are dangerous, especially for women. Gianni's succulent squid cling with menacing tentacles. Hostile neighbours dump rubbish on the fragrant basil in the rented courtyard. The submissive wife, whose desires have hitherto remained ungratified more often than not, spends September on the fringes of a revolutionary group in Naples, before returning to Rome and her job, determined to escape from domesticity, marriage and motherhood.

This decision, and the leap from compliance to defiance, are accomplished with scarcely any comment or reflection on Vannina's part. (Possibly this is just as well. The translation is particularly ham-fisted when it comes to 'ideological divergencies'.) The narrator uses her eyes and thinks with her skin, progressing from dutiful torpor to tingling awareness, widening curiosity and, ultimately, to dreams of courage and renewal following bereavement. But the residual impression on the reader's mind is not one of personal salvation, the emergence of individual consciousness in a feminist Bildungsroman, but, rather, a panoramic view of patriarchy: predators in the streets and tyranny at home (among men of both Right and Left).

Cats are an inspiration to anyone aiming for emotional fastidiousness and detachment: Vannina takes one, naturally, on her road to



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

independence. Besides this penchant, Maraini might also acknowledge an affinity with Colette in her gourmet's search for the *mot juste*; her reliance upon dialogue; her avoidance of exposition and explanation and her taste for all that is simple, sensuous and passionate. It is this lyricism that is most liable to get lost in translation. Nevertheless, a volume which claims to present 'a comprehensive collection' of **Colette**'s stories, 100 in all, raises high hopes — until you realise that it is merely a selection which omits both dates and original titles, so there is no telling, from the table of contents, which you have got. Instead of arranging them in a chronological sequence, which would reflect the distinctive pattern of the author's strange career, the editor has lumped tender anecdotes, subtle tales and wistful fragments together under clod-hopping subheadings such as 'Varieties of Human Nature'. In order to vindicate his assertion that Colette deals exclusively with private themes — 'the tragedy of the bedroom' — he has excluded fictions that might be described as 'public'.

Yet even those that gain admittance here by passing the boudoir test defy the label that would deny them a collective context. An intimate gesture evokes an epoch, implies bargains struck and services rendered, conveys the nuances of rank and patronage and the power of money in the bank. Nothing could be more solid than the economic base, more specific than the social position, of these creations. Wherever there is song, dance, glamour, romance, there are rents, train fares, foodbills, laundry and the risk of pregnancy, swollen ankles or a sore throat.

*Harper's Bazaar*, in which some of Colette's stories made their first English appearance 50 years ago, had earlier provided a forum for several of the American women writers whom the Pandora Press now seeks to rescue from oblivion.

The miscellany **Old Maids** brings together 13 tales which challenge the stereotype of embittered spinsterhood and question the 'happy ever after' illusion which promotes, sustains and keeps up the supply of recruits to the institution of marriage. After the wedding bells, they point out, there may be drudgery, isolation, an annual baby or worse. Single women, scorned for being 'on the shelf' from the age of 25, may have chosen the better part.

Perhaps the most effective story here, and certainly the only humorous one, shows how the warmth and generosity of 'Number 13', a garrulous old dressmaker, transforms a bleak lodging house, with its population of lonely strangers, into a caring community. It is this conviction — that reason must prevail to devise more human ways of living together than are practised at present — which prompts the narratives recovered in the companion anthology **Daring to Dream: Utopian Stories by United States Women.** Gender divisions are satirised by the depiction of separate spheres reversed in parallel worlds. Future generations deplore the waste and fatigue of domestic labour in the nuclear family of a bygone age. The failure of these pioneering hopes, the virtual erasure of the collectivist vision from familiar records of American thought, lend poignancy and importance to these examples of what might otherwise be considered a *static* minor literary genre. □

**ART**
John Spurling

# Hang your leader

**The eyes have it: detail from Rodrigo Moynihan's portrait of a 'reliable headmistress'**

**Mrs Thatcher** and **The 20th-Century Galleries**
*National Portrait Gallery*
**Portraits of a Country**
*Barbican*
**Richard Wentworth**
*Lisson Gallery, Bell Street, London NW1*

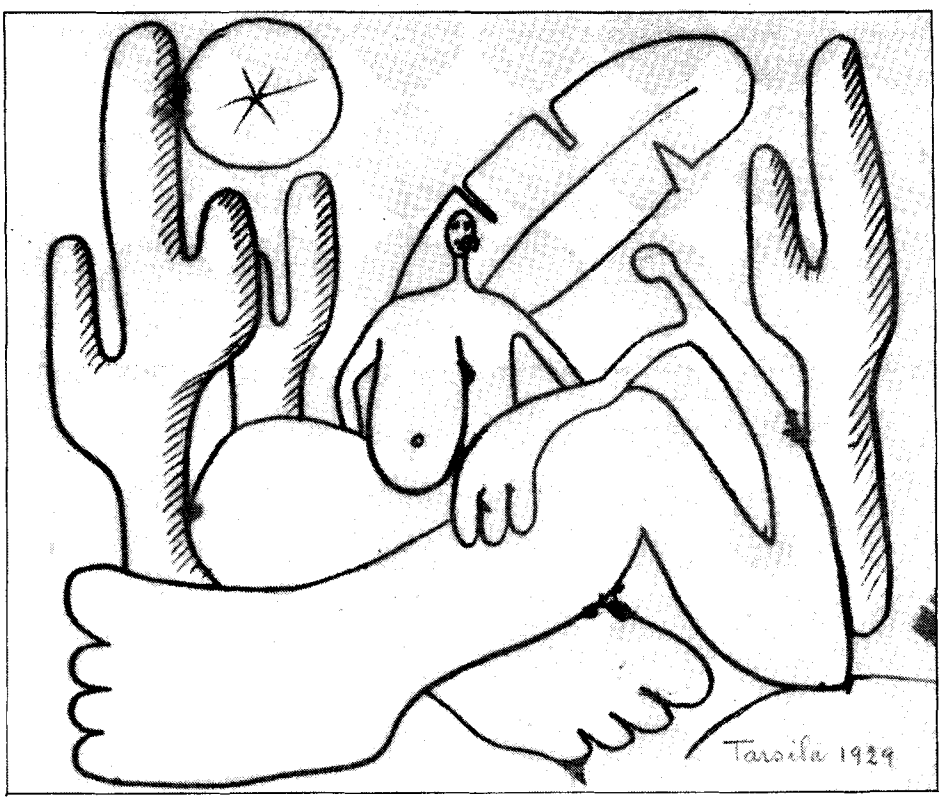
The unveiling of Rodrigo Moynihan's portrait of **Mrs Thatcher**, commissioned by the National Portrait Gallery, was dramatic: the curtains parted to reveal a pair of intensely blue eyes with an opaque, misted look, as if they were blind or turned inwards. Of course, anyone who sits for a portrait tends to develop a glassy start, but one can understand why this particular sitter is asking for a re-paint.

Looking past the eyes, the painting as a whole is a splendid piece of work, an unabashed return — after the flat, book-jacket, ad-man's style of Bryan Organ's portraits of Prince Charles and Princess Diana — to the pleasures of a full interior setting, with depth, breadth and detail. Mrs T, dressed in a soft mauve blouse with tight grey skirt, with a ring on each hand and pearls at the ears and round the neck, is seated right up against the front of the picture surrounded by a large area of brown polished floor. Behind her a spacious drawing-room with blue walls and carpet leads back into a further room, a square of warm yellow up left. The furniture is sparse, but there are pictures on the walls, marble fireplaces and a ghostly chandelier, dabbed in impressionistically in white. Part of a ceiling cornice, the door frame round the yellow room and the edge of a folding door at front right provide a firm, geometrical framework to the warm-cool-very warm (brown through blue to yellow) progression of the colour scheme. The general effect of the setting is plain, well proportioned, relaxed: and the sitter herself appears at one with it, a well-organised and reliable headmistress rather than an obstinate tyrant.

If it weren't for those alarming eyes a future generation would surely assume that she must have been an improvement on her predecessors, whose portraits hang in the NPG's recently-opened **20th-Century Galleries**. Here is Ruskin Spear's Harold Wilson, an earth-coloured gnomish figure peering through clouds of pipe smoke; here Bryan Organ's bulbous-faced Jim Callaghan, inscrutably bland in profile against an expanse of plain red; here the same artist's aged Supermac, a head-and-pin-stripe-shoulders sunk to the bottom of the canvas and placed behind a horizontal band, with the ruined air of a character from Beckett or a prisoner on some serious charge; here Suzi Malin's grinning death's head of Lord Home, stiff and straight with his rod and dog beside a broad, slow river. It only goes to show how important it is for a politician to choose the right artist; in this case, one accustomed to painting human beings instead of caricatures, as witness two other fine portraits by Moynihan in the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




**Too much foreign influence? Detail from *Anthropophagical Study* by Tarsila do Amaral**

collection — Lawrence Gowing and Peggy Ashcroft.

The 20th-Century Galleries include photographs and drawings as well as paintings and contrive to offer far more material than the walls would hold by the ingenious use of revolving displays. It is, inevitably, more of an archive than an art show, though there are some memorable images: Sutherland's shy self-portrait and his drawing of Maugham; a woe-begone self-portrait by the suicide John Minton; Patrick Heron's semi-cubist Eliot; Christopher Wood's Constant Lambert; Sickert's Beaverbrook (the colonial boy made good) and Henry Lamb's watery Chamberlain.

The policy of setting aside funds from the annual purchase grant to commission portraits of living eminences was only begun four years ago, but it must already have paid off handsomely in publicity for the gallery and, together with this demonstration of what was achieved even in an age when portrait-painting seemed obsolescent, will surely help to raise the status of the art again. Photography is all right for the facial record or for a swift glimpse of the character, but there is really no substitute for the careful, painstaking build-up of a good painting; the relationship between an artist and a sitter that it embodies is not a simple matter of likeness, but of structure, texture, colour and moment-by-moment decision. Moynihan's Mrs Thatcher may not look particularly formidable as a sitter, but if I were the opposition I would study her, for she and her setting together make a formidable painting.

**Portraits of a Country** — a selection of Brazilian 20th-century art from the collection of one of Brazil's leading patron's Gilberto Chateaubriand — seems a misnomer. No doubt many of these paintings would look better in private and native surroundings than they do in the unfriendly cubicles of the Barbican Art Gallery, but they are less portraits of their own country than of a plethora of foreign styles (Cubism, naïve painting, geometrical abstraction, American pop and so on). The best pieces are some quiet self-portraits, without international pretensions, by Carlos Scliar, Glauco Rodrigues and Alberto a Veiga Guignard.

**Richard Wentworth**'s 'Toy', at the Lisson Gallery, is a galvanised steel tub which, instead of being filled with water, is transformed into a kind of outsize sardine can with a lid of steel, expertly fitted just below the edges of the tub, where the water-level might be. Encased in this steel lid, floating as it were on the steely water, is an ordinary sardine can, its lid rolled back, its contents removed. Another of his sculptures ('Heist') is a gilded lead ball in a large steel ladle balanced on a pillow; a third, called 'Domino', consists of a lump of granite whose concave side embraces and seems to lean on a large, empty, square-sided, brown paper bag. What these pieces have in common is inconsequentiality made consequent by the will and skill of the artist. Nothing in the world could have formed a permanent liaison between this piece of granite and this paper bag except the iron whim of Wentworth: he envisaged it, he made it work, or possibly envisaged it after he had made it work. Why? What point is there in marrying a paper bag to a piece of granite? Hard and soft, rough and smooth, round and square, solid and hollow, heavy and light, exclusive and inclusive, natural and artificial, monumental and ephemeral: the unlikely partners define one another like the characters in a comedy. But suppose the paper bag were to blow away or decay or the stone fall on top of it: tragedy, surely? Wentworth's art is a kind of science of connections; he uses objects and materials as playwrights use characters and words, to create continuously exploding actions. □

*We apologise for the absence of a film column: John Coleman is ill.*

## TELEVISION
Hugo Williams

?

YOU'VE PROBABLY caught **The Pyramid Game** (ITV) by accident some time and, before you switched with a shudder to something more cheerful, seen, as through the crack of a door, two people performing a parody of one of your own conversations with your children, one impatient person unable to think of the words, the other irritably trying to find them for him.

The contestants on *The Pyramid Game* perform these Beckettian duologues with various minor telebrities, taking it in turns to be the thickie. Fred Housego performed with Heather, whose choice was 'Leaky', or, as compere Steve Jones explained, 'Things that can have a leak in them'. On top of a house? ROOF. You cook in it? Etc. Telebrity Victoria Wood was given 'Seven Types of Poultry', the example being 'capon' which threw everyone into confusion. 'You know, the thing Batman wears,' said Steve. 'Settle down now.' The audience was less than riotous, even when Victoria lost her wig over 'goose'. Then it was Fred's turn to put across things associated with Russia, of which there are five: Marx, Czar, Vodka, Caviar and Communism.

'Hello and welcome to **The World, The Flesh and The Devil'** (BBC1). This is the most obscure and undemanding programme I have yet been able to discover on television; but before you get over-excited about this, let me warn you that it is a quiz show with a religious slant to it. Still keen? Colin Morris is the specially unthrusting, non-televisual quiz-master holding apart strictly unaggressive teams from non-rival seminaries, all male of course. It is hard to conjure up the atmosphere of this hypnotically undynamic event because almost everything in it is suppressed, like the desires of vicars at table-tennis clubs, which only emerge later in the Sunday papers. The suppressed element here made itself felt in the black jumper of the mildest looking theological student, which had gigantic red lips all over it.

The lowest form of life in the quiz world is **Winner Takes All** (ITV). In *Mastermind* the contestants have to think of something to say: 'Aristotle'; 'No, New Zealand'; 'Not too much off on top'; 'Very good, sir'. In *Winner* the contestants' ignorance is kept in abeyance through the device of giving them alternative answers to choose from, which instantly converts any elitist knowledge they might possess into the merest guesswork, or, more commonly, the reverse. 'What are Pin Yin and Wade Giles?' was my favourite silly question last week. (Transcriptions from the Chinese.)

There are quiz shows everywhere nowadays if you care to look: four on Mondays alone, but mostly at the weekend on ITV. They are an integral part of the unemployment scene, mimicking the water cannons of monetarism with a sort of jolly public purging: the lottery of the job search; the agony of the interview; the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stomach-gnawing wait; the sudden-death of rejection . . . until next week's 'quiz show' at the Job Centre. They should have a show called Dole Queue in which contestants are put through a Yes-No Interlude by sadistic quizlings who shriek with triumph as each exhausted job hunter utters the forbidden syllable.

In the twenties the unemployed took part in gruelling dance marathons to make the drinking classes feel better off by comparison. Week after week they dragged their bodies from an hour's tortured sleep back onto the dance floors, holding each other up, dying, committing suicide, or perhaps surviving, only to find they owed the dance-hall owner for their board and lodging: 'Can you come back next week? Marvellous!' Today they are escorted from the studio by the lovely Mari and the lovely Lynda (*Winner Takes All*).

Dance marathons wouldn't work too well on TV because of continuity and civil rights hangups. But something similar might be attempted (and has been) if the sado-masochistic/schadenfreudian effects were disguised as a jolly obstacle course: something along the lines of Jarry's *The Road to Golgotha Considered as an Uphill Bicycle Race*, in which the cross stands in for an early prototype of the bone-shaker:

> Barrabas, slated to race, was scratched. Pilate, the starter, pulling out his water-clock, an operation which wet his hands, gave the send-off. The deplorable accident familiar to us all took place at the twelfth turn. Jesus was in a dead heat with the thieves.

In the case of **Ultra Quiz** (ITV) the part of Pilate is ably taken by David Frost, while the Centurion who urges Jesus towards the finishing line with his spear is played by the buxom Willie Rushton, dispatching huge numbers of losers on open-topped busses destined for God knows where. *Ultra Quiz* is a kind of Roman Games transferred from the Coliseum to Lord Montague's used car dump at Beaulieu: a form of human sheep-dog trials for a thousand Christians with delusions of Heaven on earth, their numbers constantly diminishing like those of the disappearing ones in Argentina.

The idea is that these unfortunates are used as unpayed extras in a long-running roadshow loosely hung round the theme of disappointment, their own disappointment, of course, seen in close-up on our screens, as week by week more and more of them are sent away before payday. For this film has a budget with only one salary: £10,000. Neat, eh?

In a tawdry sort of way no expense has not been carefully calculated to impress: fairground festivity and telebrities galore, a certain parade-ground desolation. In the first of the series the international flavour of the trials was emphasised by the unfurling of the flags of the countries to which the martyrs are to be transported in subsequent weeks, all except that of Belgium, whose colours were the subject of the first question: which colour is nearest the flagpole? An aerial view showed a thousand Christians dithering between the entrance to the lions' den (red) or freedom and the next round (black). Before long they had been whittled to a mere 60, then half of these sent off happily on the Beaulieu monorail, while the bus came to pick up the losers. It was sadism worthy of Nero. The bus said 'Deauville'. The 'losers' were through to the next round. □

## THEATRE
Naseem Khan

# Just William

**A Midsummer Night's Dream**
SHAKESPEARE *Open Air Theatre, Regents Park*
**Richard III**
SHAKESPEARE *Stratford*
**Aren't We All?**
FREDERICK LONSDALE *Haymarket*

I little thought I would be bowled over by the Open Air Theatre. I went along in a spirit of somewhat gloomy duty — blankets, thermoses, woollies, children wrapped up as if they were going to spend a week at sea in an open boat. Survival not enjoyment expected.

The approach through Regents Park — past beds of big cabbagey roses — was pleasant enough to shake cynicism. But the arrival at the theatre completely swept all doubts away: not so much the setting, though this is lovely — curved tiers of fixed seats look down on a grassy dell surrounded by mature trees — as the human aspect of it all. There's a great air of bustle and excitement around the entrance. Crowds arrive — far jollier than normal theatre audiences — laden down with picnic baskets and beer. There's the smell of hamburgers and pitta bread and mulled wine, and a sense of good-humoured occasion. In fact this is the nearest thing to Popular Theatre that I can think of in the mainstream. Add a bit of minstrelsy or balladeering and you'd probably get an atmosphere not too far removed from the spirit in which audiences originally saw Shakespeare's plays.

Given all that, it would perhaps be carping to look for distinction of production too. Bernard Hepton's **Midsummer Night's Dream** is certainly good enough — sensible, straightforward, no nonsense or clever symbolism, no changes of period. The court is firmly Tudor; the fairies are everything one would expect from fairies: silvery pastel gowns, strange Perrault faces, pointy Mr Spock ears. It is not a subtle production, but then it is hard — as many street theatre specialists of the '70s will tell you — to achieve subtlety in the open air. Without the concentrated effect of a black-out and the intensity of audience involvement that that encourages, small effects tend to vanish; introspective monologues are drowned by passing jets. Almost of necessity one is forced to go for the broad and uncomplicated.

The 'mechanicals' of course come over beautifully. Berwick Kaler gives Bottom a nice edge of outraged dignity and a bounce so insufferable that even vague memories of having had an ass's head can only temporarily put him out of gear. Alan Corduner's interesting Puck, on the fairy side, has the strange ambiguity one associates more with Ariel.

It is, however, at the end that the production comes neatly into its own. Darkness has fallen in the real world; the marriages on stage have been made and the couples have retired, leaving the place to Oberon's people. 'Through the house give glimmering light,' he commands and obediently fairy lights — never so aptly named — dapple the dark trees with points of light. It was a magic that surely few could have resisted.

**Richard III** at Stratford has largely been talked of in terms of Anthony Sher's Richard. It is hardly surprising for it is a pyrotechnic performance. Sher swings his way across the stage, in the first section, on long crab-like crutches, dominating events with a demonic sprightliness. It's a startling and brutal image, that also makes sense in terms of the play. For it is the anarchic energy of the early Richard that takes him to the crown. Everyone else is playing by the rules. Richard's strength is his position as an outsider. Interestingly, once king, he more or less abandons his crutches, allowing his increasingly oppressed court to carry him around. Only before the battle of Bosworth, when he tries to raise that old energy again, does he paw the ground with his crutches, but in vain.

It is details like this that give Bill Alexander's impressive production its strength and cohesion. Some things impede it. William Dudley's big tombs work well for interior scenes (in one instance Richard crouches malevolently on top, his twisted shadow thrown huge against the wall) but, in the smoke of battle, with horses bumbling around them, look rather silly. Brian Blessed's Hastings has rather too much jocularity. But on the whole the sweep and pace of the production make great sense. Consider for instance the change once King Edward dies. Gloucester's manipulations till then have been relatively leisurely, but now the nervousness of pitch increases as he plots, suborns, lobbies, gulls the citizenry. The throne eventually falls to him. Then follows a coronation so monstrous that the flesh creeps, a fitting climax to the passage before, and a foundation for the open savagery to come.

**Aren't We All?**, Frederick Lonsdale's 1923 comedy of manners, pleased its audience greatly on the night I went. Its first night hiccups subsided, it had settled into an easy pace to which its seasoned performers were well geared.

Nobody — audience or players — could be too much taxed by this slight piece. Even the cast's celebrated senior citizens, Rex Harrison and Claudette Colbert, skimmed happily along like easy skiers on the play's unlined surface.

Set in the world of butlers and champers and holidays in Egypt, *Aren't We All?* is concerned more with sins against convention than those of the deeper sort. The Hon Willie Tatham (Francis Matthews) is being kissed by a passing vamp when his wife arrives: 'You have crushed every single hope of happiness in me,' she cries and marital bliss flies out of the window. The play shows how it is retrieved. It is small, relatively adroit and reasonably harmless. Like milk jelly it will not sustain life, but it slips down quite easily if you like that sort of thing. Performances are well judged, from Rex Harrison's lord who philanders in the British Museum where one is unlikely to meet one's own social circle, to Michael Gough's unfortunate clergyman. Clifford Williams directs sensibly. □



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

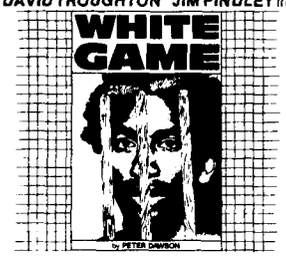
# billboard

*To advertise, call 01-251 5487*

## Theatre

**ROYAL SHAKESPEARE COMPANY** 01 628 8795/638 8891 24hr info 628 2295
**BARBICAN THEATRE**
JULIUS CEASAR *Final performances, July 6-10.*
THE COMEDY OF ERRORS Final performances July 11, 12.
MEASURE FOR MEASURE 13, 14 July.
THE HAPPIEST DAYS OF YOUR LIFE by John Dighton.
New production reduced price previews from 19 July.
**THE PIT**
THE TIME OF YOUR LIFE by William Saroyan Final perfs July 6-10 July.
LIFE IS A DREAM by Calderon de la Barca *Final perfs July 11 & 12.*
VOLPONE by Ben Jonson — July 13 & 14
RED STAR new play by Charles Wood from 19 July.

**The New Shaw Theatre Company**
**Camden Central Race Relations Unit in association with Howard and Patrick Ltd.** presents
**DAVID TROUGHTON JIM FINDLEY** in




Directed by **ELLIOTT COOPER**
Designed by **BRUNO SANTINI**
Lighting Design by **TIM ANGER.**
Until Saturday 21 July
**Anti-Racist Year 1984**
**Sponsored by GLC Arts and Recreation Committee Camden Race and Community Relations Committee**
100 Euston Road, NW1
Box Office: 388 1394

*The New Riverside Production*

# SEACHANGE

*A new play by*
**STEPHEN LOWE**
*Directed by*
**DAVID LEVEAUX**

FOR A LIMITED SEASON ONLY!

**3-28 JULY riverside studios**
Crisp Road Hammersmith W6 748 3354

**NATIONAL THEATRE** 01-928 2252 Olivier (open stage) 'Guys and Dolls', 'Saint Joan'. Lyttleton (*proscenium stage*) 'The Spanish Tragedy'. Cottesloe (small auditorium) 'Anton Chekhov'. See daily press for dates and times or ring recorded information 01-928 2256.

**HALF MOON THEATRE** 213 Mile End Road, E1. 01-790 4000.
From Tues 8 pm (Thurs 12 July 7pm) THE THIRD AND FINAL ROUND by Johnnie Quarrel.

## Bookshops

**FRENCH'S THEATRE BOOKSHOP** — the finest & most comprehensive collection of theatre books, plays & recordings. 52 Fitzroy Street, London W1P 6JR, Tel. 01-387 9373 (24 hour answering service).

## Opera & Ballet

**SADLER'S WELLS THEATRE** EC1 01-278 8916 (5 lines) CC Group Sales 01-930 6123. Gilbert & Sullivan Season until 21 July. Eves 7.30, Sat mat 2.30. 6, 9, 11 July 'HMS Pinafore', 7, 10, 12 July 'The Mikado'. Wells Stagecoach, a before and after show bus service, phone Box Office for details. Info Hotline 01-278 0855.

## Galleries

**PENTONVILLE GALLERY**, at 47 Lambs Conduit Street, London WC1. 01-242 8629. Until 21 July **War Efforts** — drawings and paintings by John Keane. Tues-Fri 11 am-6.30 pm, Sats 11 am-2 pm. GLC funded, financially assisted by GLAA.

## Museums

**THE LONDON TOY AND MODEL MUSEUM** houses Europe's finest collection of toy and model trains, boats, cars, planes, dolls, bears etc. Cafe, shop and working garden railways. *Suitable for all the family.* Tues-Sat 10-5.30. Sun. 11-5.00. 21-23 Craven Hill, W2. Tel. 01 262 9450. Tubes: Paddington, Lancaster Gate. Admission charge.

## Concerts

The GLC Presents

# THE RATEPAYERS' IOLANTHE

24th July-11th August. Eves. at 7.45: Sat. Mats. at 3.00.

Directed by NED SHERRIN.
Designed by DAPHNE DARE.

Booking now open. Tickets £3.50 to £6.50 from The Royal Festival Hall Box Office, London SE1 8XX. Tel. 01-928 3191. Credit Card 01-928 8800.

SUMMER 1984
GLC QUEEN ELIZABETH HALL

Hello Music Lovers everywhere ...

Were I to propose the opportunity to get a little "Brahms and Liszt" in the Barbican on Friday the 13th of July at 7.45 sharp it would, I am sure, be hard to see your hinder parts for dust.

When I tell you however that these two non-British composers will be rigorously excluded from the shenanigans, that your aural orifices will be sensuously explored only by decent British tunes like Mantovani's* "Pomp and Circumstance", "Wellington's Victory", and that popular song used to such stunning effect in "The Bridge on the River Kwai", and so often whistled in wartime, recounting the organic deficiencies of the German High Command, you might, I think, be tempted to earmark Friday the Thirteenth for your annual basinful of Culture.

When I add that I myself, as Consort to Our Leader, for the first time on any concert platform, will be your host, supported by a 90 piece band of very decent coves who will be banging, strumming, blowing and scraping away at the catgut under the unsteady baton of flamboyant, long-haired, foreign- born Maestro, Carl "Napoleon" Davis, I feel sure you will be reaching for the telephone to book tickets even before you have let this newspaper fall from your trembling grasp en route for the drink's cabinet.

See you on the Thirteenth, unless, as I fear, my spectacles become misted over with nostalgia and other related emotions.

Tarah for now D.T.

(dictated in Mr Thatcher's absence and signed by a trained nurse)

*Can you check the composer's name — I think it may be some other wierdo.

**Denis Calls The Tune**
with John Wells, Carl Davis
and the London Symphony Orchestra
July 13 at 7.45 Barbican Hall 01-638 8891/628 8795

billboard
**enquiries 01-251 5487**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# FIRST PERSON

Anne Smith

## Paint it white

YOU MAY REMEMBER my unseemly outburst on the subject of Harold Macmillan and hereditary peerages a couple of months ago. The point I was making was about the hypocrisy of a system that showers awards and honours on the already privileged and does its best to ignore those who have given their all in a humble, domestic way. I wrote particularly about men in their fifties, prematurely retired through job-related illnesses, who, just when they would have been saving for their old age, are thrown on to social security.

A radio reviewer heaped coals of right-wing fire upon my head for this. She seized on a sentence that began 'My own father was a coal-miner...' and held it up as a piece of special pleading, guaranteed to awaken your leftish sympathies instantly, dear reader. Of course, I had not used it with this intention. The very thought is absurd. Miners are not among the disadvantaged, underprivileged, social victims in this country, and nobody knows that better than themselves and their families.

But I acknowledge the clichéd thought behind the criticism. The son of one of my father's mates, who started university two or three years before me, when asked what his father did, would reply pusillanimously 'He's with the NCB'. By the time I got to university, the *Lady Chatterley* case had led to a Lawrence revival, which had led to a romanticisation of the mining fraternity. There was actually a certain social cachet in being a miner's daughter. Which is equally absurd — coal-mining is not a hereditary trait like grey eyes.

Yet I have a great liking for miners, and a feeling that they are a group apart from other working men. When I was growing up, at least, they were distinguished by the diversity of their backgrounds and by their intelligence. One of my father's mates, for example, used to help me with my Latin homework. He had had to leave school at 15, but he had kept up his Latin. Another of my father's mates gave my brother art lessons: he had had a painting exhibited at the National Gallery in Edinburgh. They were all great readers.

But probably the most distinguishing characteristic was their grim sense of humour. When the union issued a list of the new compensation rates for limbs lost at work, my father said quite seriously to my mother, 'Now, if I just managed to lose three toes, I could afford a motor-bike to get to my work.' A mate of his, who shall be called Thick Eck to preserve his anonymity — if he's still alive, which I doubt — was once sent up the pit for a canary to test for gas. En route to the coal face he tripped and fell, crushing the cage and corrugating the canary. Much too lazy to go back for another, Eck carefully straightened out the cage, fluffed up the bird and soldiered on to his waiting mates. The cage was extended into the darkness at the end of a stick by a trembling hand, and the bird of course fell over. There was a concerted rush to a safer section. Eck only confessed months later.

I've been down the pit. It was a horrible experience: the drop to the bottom alone would have been more than enough for me if I hadn't the family honour to consider. The air was barely breathable through a hankie; my head rattled against the roof supports at the coal face like a stick along a fence, while the roof itself creaked and dripped like the cellar of Count Dracula's castle. There were rats. The darkness was absolute. Only the guiding Depute's tales of slave bracelets found there, and of painting the coal white at the pit bottom for the Queen's visit kept me going — well, that, and the fact that I couldn't have found my way back alone.

I find it difficult to understand why the miners are fighting to safeguard the futures of their sons in the pits. I've never met a single miner who wished his children to follow in his footsteps: it seems like sadism to me, to plan your children's future in such work. And it seems like lunacy on the part of the NUM to alienate public sympathy by holding this strike without a ballot, to exploit the solidarity of the miners, which is exceptional and the product of the nature of their work. But I stand by to be corrected. □

# WEEKEND COMPETITION

**No 2829 Set by Maud Gracechurch**

Time for apt anagrams again — of the titles of famous paintings, sculptures or musical works (of whatever brow). By 20 July.

**No 2826 Set by E.O. Parrott**

Novels, plays, etc., retold by one of the characters involved.

**Report By Di Dact**

Not a large entry maybe but a well considered one and Mr Cowley goes to the bottom of the class for his cheeky suggestion that we would have been better employed setting limericks beginning, 'There was a young nun in a punt'. *Hamlet* was commendably retold by Horatio, Gertrude, Fortinbras and the ghost but the view of the workers involved would seem to be the most original. A gold star and ten pounds for each winner.

**The gravedigger's Hamlet**

I'll keep it short: we've got a rush on. First we gets Old Hamlet. Cricky, you should've seen the state of 'im. 'We 'aven't 'eard the last of this,' my mate says, 'mark my words.' We'd just about patted 'im down when Polonius turns up. They'd tried to patch 'im up but you could tell 'e'd been done for. 'Say nothing,' says my mate. 'Keep digging.' Now the cart's rolled up with all sorts on it. And us doin' overtime on the Ophelia plot, so to speak. (Some hooligans've been jumpin' about in it. Bloody pests. I hope they get what's comin' to them.) There's more to all this than diggin' holes, you know. Things've gotta be right. Take this cartload: the Queen ought to be in with 'er 'usband, right? But which one? See what I mean? N. J. WARBURTON

**Widmerpool's Dance to the Music of Time**

This is an excessively long book (how well I recall poor Jenkins' impossible prolixity from school) but it contains only one character of any real substance. . . Early instalments itemise in interminable detail the flippant activities of various smart and shady young sets in London and the Home Counties between the wars. . . . The central volumes, chronicling a war to the waging of which some of us were destined to make a not altogether unweighty contribution, are better — Jenkins seems, momentarily, to be becoming *un homme sérieux*. But alas, at the war's end, he plunges us back into the taverns of Fitzrovia, the society of predatory drabs and egomaniac hacks. My own inauspicious marriage is dissected with distasteful frankness. . . Finally Jenkins shows himself woefully unsympathetic to that eternal youth of spirit that enabled some of us to embrace with rapture the heady emancipations of the Sixties. . . MARTIN FAGG

I am the Ancient Mariner:
I shot the albatross.
The rest is polar persiflage
And high Romantic dross.

The ship was cursed, the crew expired,
And that's the basic plot.
A bit of Christian guilt thrown in,
Some metrics — that's your lot.

NICHOLAS MURRAY

**What we did in our holydays**

we had a bran new goviness it was super, she was lots sillyer than Jessull. we did not do lessins, we just playd gosties and goolies, she went all funy. she start speeking Below Stares (Mrs. Gross), Uncle rote and sayd it was rong, so we playd her up, she went all querer. she DID NOT GO TO CHURCH, nauty thing, and their was bags under her eys, she was not sleeping, also she was usless at Sums. Uncle come down, he drest up as Jessull, it was smashing, she screemed and she did faynting. but she went of her roker also, and i traveld to LONDON, i was not sick at al, but Uncle sayd she gave Miles a hart filler, and i cryd and cryd, i think she was a roten goviness. also i spok with nice Mr. Beyelsabub lots, he taut me new triks. WILL BELLENGER

Cherie,
You can't *imagine* how furious I am! Marcel — that two-faced little upstart who drove his poor fiancée, Albertine, to her death — is writing a novel about us all. I am a whore, Swann was my dupe (darling you *know* how Charles adored my delicacy, *always*). My daughter Gilberte is married to a pervert whose uncle de Charlus is another. The rest of the Guermantes are stupid snobs — and passé (though when the present Princess G. was Mme Verdurin she — like the rest of us — introduced Marcel to EVERYBODY who was ANYBODY). The sooner we, the crème de la crème, get together and denounce this 'oeuvre' as the muck-raking ravings of a lunatic the better. Come at once!
Love,
Odette

P.S. His servant, Françoise, left me with the M.S. while she made a tisane. M was out but expected back. The style's *terrible* — and so DATED!

MARGARET ROGERS

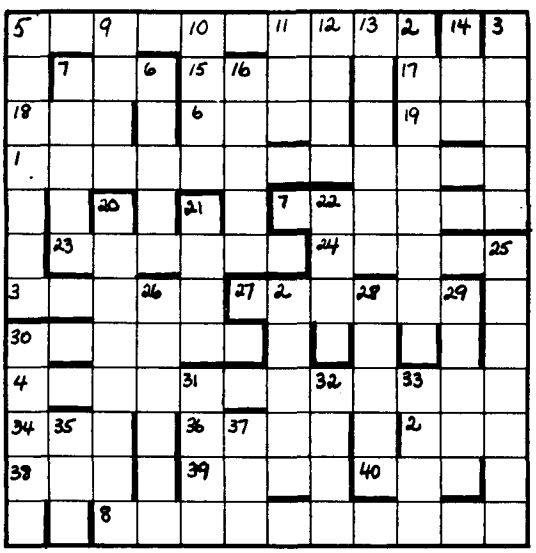


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Salamanca 83

## 'Homes Vacant'

**PRIZES: £25 cheques for the first three correct solutions opened. Entries to Salamanca 83, New Statesman, 14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU, by first post 31 July.**



Unclued answers (all of more than one word and some with more than one placement) numbered 1-8 are related (8 in a more general way than the others) and must be slightly treated before entry according to a scheme solvers must deduce, their unchecked letters declaring (unnecessarily) HERE IS A RIGHT PROBLEM.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____

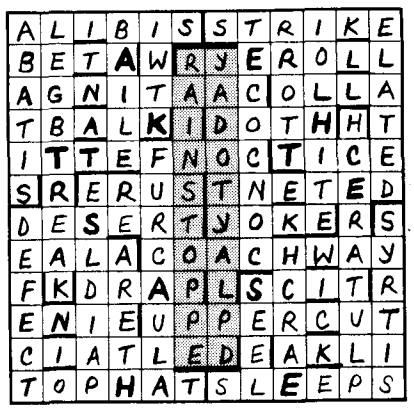
ACROSS

7 Call on and consult judge (3)
15 Noise of wind (4)
17 Part of King's regalia, gold and black (3)
18 It's hard dividing in equal amounts? I see (3)
19 Show some distress obviously (3)
23 Dutch place of field and valley (6)
24 Weapons of Frenchman in War (5)
27 These young men might be hip sort out East (6)
30 Dumb (i.e. daft), needing to be filled (6)
34 Language when covering for modesty (3)
36 Claws? They're essential in pouncing (4)
38 This expresses surprise when we pull out of controlled drop (3)
39 Dies in attempts (4)
40 Be well and happy in a way (3)

DOWN

5 Detecting the origin of that exotic cigar without name? (7)
9 Clear blow containing energy (4)
10 No longer increase the chemical contents (4)
11 One lives with slothful ones (3)
12 Colour from the old days: current one has slightly different content (4)
13 Iron up, iron down, and half iron old suit (6)
14 Where the records are kept for a missing boat (3)
16 Primitive one with old fourth rate coat? (Mac's shabby) (5)
20 Imbibe another drink in bar keeping sober, oddly (8)
21 Finishing touches given axe and long knife: this? (4)
22 Short ration's served up? Cheers! (4)
25 Have duties to prepare stuff in book? (7)
26 Coypu fur, shade of brown and dry from the foot up (6)
28 Virus which turns a part of the brain (5)
29 A friend that's genial? Wrong! It's not one (5)
30 Resolute statement from one that's weak and sick? (2 words, 5)
31 Well, it's rather big when given a new start (4)
32 Content of roll is taken from it? (4)
33 Bird: its tail's almost too much! (4)
35 Leader of all Dwarfs of course (3)
37 Failing in sport could make you spit and not this (3)

### Solution to Salamanca 82

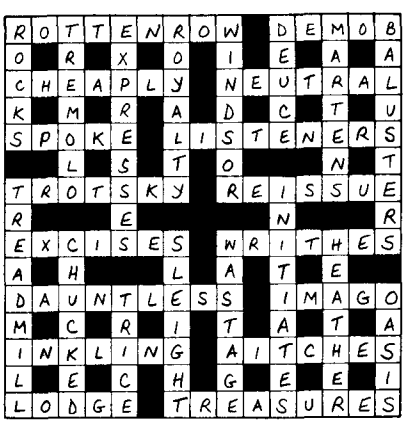


Wides: 'Take the Ashes'; Pitch: 'Rain stopped play today'.

### Prizewinners to Salamanca 82

Jack Walton (Ewell, Surrey)
John Coleby (Buckley, Clwyd)
Roy Dean (Accra, Ghana)

### Solution to 1444



### Prizewinners to 1444

Mrs B.J. Dixon (Weymouth, Dorset)
Mrs F. Brouard (London SW4)
Dick Moore (Norwich)


# ★ Classified Ads ★ Phone 01-251 5487 ★

## ACCOMMODATION VACANT

**DRISCOLL HOUSE**, 200 single rooms, p.b. £50 p.w. 172 New Kent Rd, London SE1. 01-703 4175.

**HOLIDAY FLATS**/Houses to let. King's Cross, London. Telephone 01-607 4518.

**NW10. SPACIOUS** purpose-built maisonette, fully furnished, 2-3 bedrooms, 2-3 receptions. Ideal 2, max. 3. 1-2 years from September. Yamaha upright piano — suit musician. £360 p.c.m. Tel. 01-451 1612 eves & weekends.

## ACCOMMODATION WANTED

**ELISE** a seventeen year-old Italian girl wants to stay with an English family during the month of August. 01-249 6012.

## GENERAL SERVICES

**QUALITY** typing. English, German, French. Moderate charges. Anne Shotts: 01-452 6617.

**UPHOLSTERY/CHAIR RESTORATION.** Loose covers made to order by careful craftsman. 01-908 0147.

## THERAPY

**EXPERIENCED, CARING PSYCHOTHERAPISTS.** 01-794 6810, 01-586 4109, 01-883 5418.

## FINANCIAL

**IMMEDIATE ADVANCES** £100-£25,000. Written terms on request. Regional Trust Ltd, 31 Dover St, London W1A 4RT. 01-491 2934.

**SALARIED PERSONS** Postal Loans Ltd. Loans from £50. 175 Regent Street, London W1. For written quote apply: Tel. 01-734 1974.

## SOCIETIES

**NINE MEN'S MORRIS.** Will anyone who regularly plays this fascinating board game kindly contact T. A. Layton, founder of the 9MM Society, 3 Sussex Road, Hove, East Sussex BN3 2WD.

## BOOKS/ PUBLICATIONS

**AUTHORS INVITED** to submit Manuscripts. All types (including Poems) for book publication. Reasonable terms. Stockwell Ltd, Ilfracombe, Devon. (Established 1898).

**ECONOMICS COLLECTIONS BOUGHT.** Also review copies. Politics, History, Sociology, ECONOMISTS BOOKSHOP, Secondhand Dept. Ring for appointment. 01-405 8643.

**REVIEW COPIES** and other books in fine condition bought and sold by Vermilion Books, 57 Red Lion St, London WC1. Tel: 01-242 5822.

## TUITION

**DRAWING, PAINTING, PRINTMAKING, ART HISTORY, YOGA** fortnights: rustic hacienda: July-September. Arts & Growth Centre, Canillas de Albaida (Malaga) SPAIN. 01-278 4411 ext. 200.

**GURDJIEFF/OUSPENSKY CENTRE ACCEPTING STUDENTS NOW.** Tel: Chorley Wood 4792.

*THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF FLORENCE*

Invites you to join its well-established courses in the Italian language (all levels), the Florentine Renaissance and Mannerism, Drawing & Water Colouring. Special GCE 'A' Level courses in Italian and Art History. Splendid premises and library in central Florence. Accommodation service.
Full details and prospectus from: **David Rundle, The Director, The British Institute, Lungarno Guicciardini 9, FLORENCE, Italy. Tel: 010-39 55 284 031.**




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# APPOINTMENTS VACANT

## SHEFFIELD CITY POLYTECHNIC AND LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY

### ARTS COUNCIL WRITER-IN-RESIDENCE 1984/85

Applications are invited from published writers of poetry or prose fiction for a one year residency. The writer will be based in the Polytechnic English Department which has an established interest in teaching creative writing. He or she will work also in a local school and community centre. The work for the Polytechnic and Local Education Authority will take up two days weekly.

An office and free residential accommodation will be provided.

The appointment will commence in early September.

Fee — £9,000 per annum.

**Application forms are available from the Personnel Officer, (Dept. N.S.), Sheffield City Polytechnic, Halfords House, Fitzalan Square, Sheffield S1 2BB, or by telephoning 0742-20911 ext. 2387. Closing date: 20 July**

Sheffield City Polytechnic is an Equal Opportunities Employer.

## BANKING, INSURANCE AND FINANCE UNION

Appointment of

## TRADE UNION ORGANISER South and West Area

The Banking, Insurance and Finance Union require an Organiser for the South and West area.

Applications are invited from persons with suitable experience and with a Trade Union background for the position.

Commencing salary: **£8,667** per annum on a scale rising to **£9,666** per annum.

The successful applicant will be based on the Union's Salisbury office. Car provided. Good holidays and conditions of service.

For application form and job description please write to: **John James, Assistant Secretary (Organisation), BIFU, 55 Charles Street, Cardiff CF1 4ED.**

*All application forms to be completed and returned by Friday 27 July 1984.*

## RUSSIAN MONITORS AND SERBO-CROAT MONITORS

### BBC Monitoring Service

To listen to news and other radio broadcasts and translate selectively into accurate English; also to view similar television broadcasts and report on the pictorial elements they contain in addition to translating the audio content. Russian monitors require a degree or equivalent standard in RUSSIAN AND ANOTHER MAJOR LANGUAGE in addition to English; Serbo-Croat monitors must offer a similar standard in SERBO-CROAT AND ANOTHER MAJOR LANGUAGE, PREFERABLY SLOVENE, as well as English. Further essential qualifications are the ability to translate into clear, idiomatic English; wide interests; sound knowledge of Russian/Yugoslav and world affairs; perfect hearing; normal colour vision; and ability to type.

Experience as professional linguist or journalist, or specialised knowledge of a relevant field (politics, economics, law, etc.), desirable. Shift and weekend work involved. Candidates whose first language is not English should state their qualification in that language.

Salary £9,149 — £11,862 plus an allowance of £537 p.a. Relocation expenses considered. Based Caversham Park, Reading.

Write or telephone for further details and an application form (quote ref. 3452/NS and enclose s.a.e.), to **Senior Personnel Officer, BBC Monitoring Service, Caversham Park, Reading, RG4 8TZ. Tel. (0734) 472742.**

**We are an equal opportunities employer**

BBC

## GLC

Working for London

### Police and the community

The Council's Police Committee exists to work towards the establishment of democratic control of the police force in London. The work is being caried out by a team of lawyers and researchers who staff its Support Unit.

#### Legal Assistants

The principal tasks for both these posts are to provide legal advice to the Head of the Unit and assist in preparing draft legislation and Committee reports on policing, law enforcement and public order. They will assist in monitoring the implementation of the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill if it is enacted and help prepare information about it; carry out in conjunction with the Unit's research staff investigative work on problems associated with policing London; contribute to the newsletter "Policing London"; undertake work identifying for the Committee's attention issues which might form the basis of further enquiries and investigation; oversee the monitoring of complaints and may appear on behalf of the Council to represent its interests in court where necessary.

Applicants must be capable of interpreting complex legal issues and should either be a barrister or solicitor, or have a thorough knowledge of criminal law. Practical experience in this field and of working on policing matters within the community, together with first rate communication skills are also needed.

**Salary: £15,834-£17,598 inclusive.** Ref: 988.

#### Research Assistants

These two researchers will be concerned with preparing information for the Unit's newsletter and for study papers, policy reports and campaigns including a major report on policing in London. The research carried out is essentially topical and involves liaison with grant-aided organisations and police monitoring groups, as well as attending meetings to discuss and increase awareness of GLC policies. The range of research will also extend to related topics such as data protection, specialised public order units and the Special Branch.

Applicants should have gained practical experience of research or investigative work on issues related to policing, civil liberties or similar. The ability to write fluently and accurately at speed, plus broad knowledge of London and its community problems, are also essential.

**Salary: £12,444-£14,076 inclusive.** Ref: 987.

**The GLC is an equal opportunities employer. We invite applications from women and men from all sections of the community, irrespective of their ethnic origin, colour, sexual orientation or disability, who have the necessary attributes to do the job.**

*For an application form, to be returned by 20th July 1984, write to: GLC Director-General's Department, Room 203, The County Hall, SE1 7PB or telephone 01-633 1527. Please quote appropriate reference.*

These posts are suitable for job sharing



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# APPOINTMENTS CONTD

## CHILD POVERTY ACTION GROUP

### Welfare Rights Workers (1 full-time, 1 part-time)

required for **CPAG's Citizens' Rights Office**. The jobs require initiative and an ability to identify important welfare rights issues. They involve welfare rights advice, casework, teaching, writing and the provision of briefings on new legislation.

Salary **£10,434**. Applications welcome from **lawyers** and **non-lawyers**. Closing date for applicants: **24 July**.

Job description from: **Claire Furlong, CPAG(NS)**
**1 Macklin Street, London WC2**
(SAE appreciated)

*CPAG is an equal opportunities employer*

## GENERAL MUNICIPAL, BOILERMAKERS' AND ALLIED TRADES UNION

**Thorne House, Ruxley Ridge, Claygate, Esher, Surrey, KT10 0TL** Telephone **Esher 62081.**

We have two vacancies here at our Head Office. The first vacancy is for a

### *LEGAL OFFICER*

Starting Salary **£11,905 p.a. (under review)**

Applications are sought from qualified solicitors or barristers. The job requires a commitment to and preferably experience of trade unions plus knowledge and experience of personal injuries and industrial disease and compensation law, employment law, sex and race discrimination law and related matters. The applicant would be responsible for co-ordination of GMB's Legal Services, conduct and advocacy at the Employment Appeal Tribunal and authorisation of Appeal Court cases. The job entails close liaison with the Union's National Officers, Regional Legal Services, Solicitors, Counsel and the Legal Services of other unions. Duties include writing guides to trade union law, policy documents and teaching shop stewards and officials.

The second vacancy is for a

### *LEGAL ASSISTANT*

Starting Salary **£8,707 p.a. (under review)**

To assist the above Officer in these and relevant areas. Legal qualifications or law degree would be a distinct advantage. Knowledge of employment law, sex and race discrimination law and industrial injuries and related areas is essential.

Applications for either of these two posts should be sent with a detailed C V to **Michael Green, Personnel Manager**, at the above address, by

**20 July 1984.**

Experienced

**MARKET RESEARCH INTERVIEWERS**

required by London marketing consultancy specialising in Information Technology. Our work involves *face-to-face & telephone inverviews.*

Tel: **01-586 5420**

**OV SELECTION CATERS** for the more mature person as well as graduates and 'A' level students with typing and office skills. Phone Odette Veazey, OV Selection (Emp. Agy), Abford House, 15 Wilton Road, London SW1V 1LT. 01-828 8345.

# GROUPS/ MEETINGS

**THEOSOPHY:** S.a.e. for free pamphlets, book list, programme. Informal Question/Answer Meeting, 'The Bhagavad-Gita as Yoga'. Sun. 8 July 8 p.m. ULT, 62 Queen's Gardens, London W2 3AL.

# SCHOOLS

**WYCHWOOD GIRLS' SCHOOL** Oxford, 11 to University age, exceptional cultural and musical opportunities, self-governing community. Principal Mrs J.E. Schuller MA.

# LISTINGS

## SAT 7 JULY

**NOTTINGHAM** 'Keeping the links between Labour and Unions' 2-day conf org. by Labour Co-ordinating Cttee/Inst. for Workers Control. Spkrs incl Tony Benn, Tom Sawyer, Audrey Wise, Ron Todd. **Details: LCC, 9 Poland St, London, W1. 01-439 3749.**

**TOTTENHAM** Bumper Barbeque in aid of miners. 7.30pm Tottenham Community Project, 628 High Rd, N17. Food, Bar, Disco. Tickets £2.50/£1.50 unwaged. Org. Bruce Grove Branch, Tottenham Labour Party.

**SWISS COTTAGE** Benefit Concert incls. John Hegley, Sensible Footwear, The Popticians. 7.30pm Swiss Cottage Community Centre. Tickets £2.50/£1.00 unwaged from 01-482 3357 or sae to 10 Churchill Rd, NW5. **Org. Hampstead and Highgate Labour Party.**

**MANCHESTER** 2-day conf of Socialist Economists 'Confronting Capitalism'. Creche (book in advance) papers, food, entertainment, accommo. **Details: Phil Blackburn for CSE Conf. Cttee. 152 Kennington Park Rd, SE11 4DJ. 01-633 1227.**

**BIRMINGHAM** Festival for Peace 2-8pm Small Health Park. **Org. Birmingham CND 54 Allison St, Digbeth, Birmingham 5. 021 632 6909.**

## SUN 8 JULY

**BARNSLEY** CND National Summer School for one week at Northern College. **Details/registration: 01-263 9698/Barnsley 85426.**

## MON 9 JULY

**SHEFFIELD** Workplace Branches meeting 7.30pm Transport House, Hartshead. **Org. Sheffield Hallam CLP 0742 666803.**

## TUES 10 JULY

**HACKNEY** Hackney's Cold War — day conf on energy conservation & fuel poverty. 10am-9pm Hackney Town Hall, Mare St, E8. **Details: Richard Macphail 01-380 1002.**

**LONDON** 'British Imperialism: Parasitic and decaying capitalism' talk by David Reed. 7.30pm **Freemasons Arms, 81/82 Long Acre, London, WC2. Org. RCG BCM Box 5909, WC1N 3XX.**

## WED 11 JULY

**STOKE NEWINGTON** 'Police in Schools' public meeting + discn. called by Roach Family Support Cttee, Stoke Newington School, Hackney Campaign against the Police Bill, Hackney Teachers Assoc. 7.30pm Stoke Newington School, Clissold Rd, N16. **Details: Maurice 01-533 0216.**

## THURS 12 JULY

**COVENT GARDEN** Defend the right to demonstrate against apartheid. Picket Bow Street Magistrates Court. Andy Higginbottom, Sec. of City AA is in court. **Org. City of London Anti-Apartheid Grp. BMCity AA, London, WC1N 3XX.**

## FRI 13 JULY

**LONDON** Defend the right to demonstrate outside South African Embassy. Police Ban Picket. Come and join us to fight the ban. 5.15pm Assemble Duncannon St. **Details: City Anti Apartheid Grp 01-837 6050.**

**LONDON** Gay Humanist Group open meeting — discn/social. 7.30pm Library, Conway Hall Humanist Centre, Red Lion Sq, WC2. All welcome. **Details: Gay Humanist Grp, National Office, 34 Spring Lane, Kenilworth, Warwickshire CV8 2HB. 0926 58450.**

## SAT 14 JULY

**CAMDEN** 'European Socialism after the Elections' 2-4.30pm Camden Labour Club (Upstairs rm.), 4 Carol St, NW1. **Org. International Foundation Left Europe, UK Group. 05827 5399.**

## FORTHCOMING

**19 JULY MANCHESTER** 'Ireland, the key to British Revolution?' Spkr David Reed. 7.30pm Longsight Library, Stockport Rd. **Org. Manchester RCG, Box 38, 434 Corn Exchange Blds., Hanging Ditch, M3 4BN.**

**20-22 JULY LEEDS** AGM of PEN 'Peace Education Network' at Beechwood College. **Details: Stephanie Duczek, York Peace Community, 15a Clifford St, York, YO1 1RG.**

**21 JULY LONDON** Anti Trident dayschool, County Hall, SE1. **Details: London Region CND, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1. 01-388 1628.**

**21 JULY ROCHESTER** Blanche Colebrook Memorial Lecture Spkr Peter Archer on Civil Liberties. 3pm Medway Manor Hotel, 16 New Rd, Rochester, Kent. Entrance Free. **Org. Medway & Meopham & District Fabian Societies. Details: 01-222-8877.**

**21-22 JULY LONDON** 'Linking up — strategies for change' conf. for socialists, greens, trade unionists at Kingsway-Princeton College, Sidmouth St, WC1. £7/£3 unwaged. Creche. **Org. SERA/Green CND, 9 Poland St, W1V 3DG. 01-439 3749.**

**27-29 JULY NOTTINGHAM** Shelter Annual Housing Conference University of Nottingham. **Details: Tim Mars, Shelter, 157 Waterloo Rd, SE1 8FX. 01-633 9377.**

**28 JULY-5 AUGUST LONDON** to **BARROW IN FURNESS** sponsored bike ride for Peace. Start 10.30am from Jubilee Gdns. **Details and sponsor forms from Moira Weaver, Dulwich CND, 29 Elsie Rd, E. Dulwich, SE22.**

**29 JULY BIRMINGHAM** W. Midlands CND Regional council 2pm UCATT, Gough St. Creche available. **Contact W. Midlands CND 54 Allison St, Digbeth B5 5TH. 021-632 6909.**

**4 AUG-10 AUG BIRMINGHAM** Acting for Peace in the '80s: Principles and Practice — exploring inner and outer dimensions of peacemaking. Woodbrooke College, Selly Oak. **Details: Stuart Morton, Woodbrooke EMS, 1046 Bristol Rd, D29 6LJ.**

**6 AUG HIROSHIMA DAY**

**9 AUG NAGASAKI DAY**

**12 AUG-28 AUG** 'Travel to Nicaragua' tour of country, meetings with different mass organisations and Government. See firsthand the gains of the revolution. **Org. New Socialist/Progressive Tours, 20 Compton Terrace, London N1. 01-226 6747.**

**7-9 SEPT BIRMINGHAM** West Midlands CND regions & areas development/campaign strategy weekend. St. Francis Hall, Birmingham University. **Details/bking: WM CND, 54 Allison St, Digbeth, Birmingham B5 5TH. 021-632 6909.**

**12-14 SEPT BRADFORD** 'Peace Studies in Higher Education' Conf. org. for those who wish to write/speak on their experience of Peace Studies teaching and research and those who wish to learn. **Contact: James O'Connell, School of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, W. Yorkshire. 0274 733455.**

*Sorry, but we can't accept entries over the phone. Entries must be received by Friday preceding issue date. We reserve the right to exclude items without giving reasons and are not responsible for errors. Space is strictly limited so if you definitely want your item to appear, we suggest you book it as an ad under the appropriate classified heading. See main heading for rates, etc.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ANNOUNCEMENT

**COUNCILLOR JOHN UBSDELL** Marlowe Ward Deptford IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE FREEMASONS. For a list of Societies, Groups & Periodicals Cllr Ubsdell belongs to, write to: Cllr Ubsdell, Lewisham Town Hall, London SE6 4RU.

# FOR SALE

**MINERS REPORT.** Sixty minutes VHS video. Powerful, clear, essential. £10 (incl. p&p). ICN, P.O. Box 108, London E9.

# HEARTSEARCH

**HEARTSEARCH ADS MAKE CONTACTS SIMPLE AND INEXPENSIVE.** Just **£4** buys you an ad. of up to **24 WORDS** and a **FREE BOX NUMBER!** If you want to say more, **extra words are only 26p each.** We send your replies on to you at no extra charge. Even sending your ad to us costs nothing if you use our **FREEPOST** address: Classified Dept. New Statesman, FREEPOST, London EC1B 1EB. You can also phone your ad in to us and pay by credit card: Telephone 01-251 5487/8. (Note — Free box numbers only available with this offer — min. charge £4). To reply to a box number, write your reply (if more than one reply enclose each in a separate envelope), place in an envelope marked clearly with the box number, and send to: Box No. Replies, New Statesman, 14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU.

**ADAM, INDIAN GUY**
32, own home and business, seeks sensible, good tempered Miss. Interest in theatre and dining out helpful. Any area.
Box 8736.

**AMIABLE MALE,** (lecturer of sorts, 30) suspects Lonely Hearts columns are ideologically unsound but is looking for a woman friend and companion. East Midlands. Box 8777.

**ANACHRONISTIC, RENAISSANCE MAN,** old 35, under sentence of death, seeks female companions. London-based preferred.
**Box 8761.**

**ARE YOU** a lively minded individual, 18-80, enjoying the arts, discussions, conferences, rambles, dancing? The Progressive League caters for Mind, Body and intellectual Stimulus. And it's so cheap. Ring 01-452 8358.

**ASIAN MALE,** fiftyish, lecturer in education, encumbered with zest for life, wishes broad-minded lady for friendship. Box 8748.

**ATTRACTIVE, PROFESSIONAL** man (58), loves arts, seeks attractive, sensual non-smoking woman, slim/medium (any age to 53), any race/circumstances for warm friendship/enjoyments. Pref. London/surrounding areas. Box 8725.

**ATTRACTIVE WOMAN,** divorced, early 40s, warm, gentle and intelligent. Interested arts, cinema, literature and home life, seeks male companion for friendship and possible lasting relationship. London-based, non-smoker. Box 8784.

**ATTRACTIVE WOMAN** journalist, 40s, socialist, would like to meet an intelligent, interesting man to share books, film, theatre, swimming, conversation and companionable silence. Box 8758.

**AUSTRALIAN, SYDNEY** woman, graduate, 47, financially secure, resident north shore, seeks friendship in Sydney of unattached man, who offers intellectual and physical attraction. Box 8739.

**AUTHOR, 52,** Oxfordshire, cerebral, sensual type, seeks like-minded, like-bodied, lady companion. Box 8785.

**BRADFORD/LEEDS**/West Yorkshire. Lady, divorced, young 54, graduate, non-smoker, 5'8", desires time-share with unattached gent. Likes: Jazz, gardens, books, museums, exhibitions, laughs, countryside, home, easy going existence. Dislikes: too many plans. All letters answered. Box 8738.

**COMPANY DIRECTOR,** 44, middle-brow, Asian, public school educated but no Tory, divorced, seeks slim, thoughtful, liberal, humorous, non-smoking, educated, sensuous, cultivated lady, 25/35. Into cinema, theatre, current affairs, tennis, scrabble etc. Box 8692.

**COUPLE, 53,** redundant freelance researchers, non-academic intellectuals, transatlantic types, 75 mins London (resident Channel port), good conversationalists appreciated, singles welcomed, seeks contacts. Box 8756.

**CREATIVE MALE,** 28, intelligent, interested: music, cinema, art, pubs, talking, listening, seeks female (20-42ish) for friendship, possibly long-term relationship. Manchester or thereabouts. Box 8760.

**DATELINE'S PSYCHOLOGICALLY** accurate introductions lead to pleasant friendships, spontaneous affairs and firm, lasting relationships including marriage. All ages, all areas. Free details: Dateline Computer Dating, Dept. (7NS), 23 Abingdon Rd, London W8. Tel. 01-938 1011.

**DECISIVE, WELL-ADJUSTED,** intelligent man sought by music loving, sociable, articulate, indecisive career woman in late forties, Durham. One reply only please! Box 8617.

**DIVORCED LADY,** 48, 5'7", living North London, would like to meet a friendly, possibly Jewish, man. My interests: music, sociology, CND, cinema. Box 8730.

**DRAWING DOWN THE MOON!**
Friendly girl graduate will introduce you to the kind of person you are looking for! Call personally 38 Mount Pleasant, WC1 weekdays from 6 p.m. Anytime Saturday/Sunday 01-833 3924

**ENGLISHMAN 44,** slim, fit, own business, happy, affectionate and discreet, has occasional free days, to develop a caring relationship, with an interesting lady. Please be daring and answer, I promise to reply. Box 8697.

**FEMALE, 34,** independent, warm, cynical, romantic, seeks entertaining, sane, unattached male 40+, to rediscover the joys of life. North West. Box 8767.

**FEMALE 36,** would like to meet cheerful, intelligent man to share leftish arts graduate interests — music, food, books, politics. I'm not pretty but have a warm heart and a lively humour. North West area. Box 8731.

**FRIENDLY, STRAIGHTFORWARD** male, 40, single, leftish, interested environment, submerged in part-time study, seeks compatible female company, for evenings out. Edinburgh/Central Scotland. Box 8764.

**GAY MALE** graduate, tall, slim, 34 (looks 27-28), interests include: travels & politics, seeks similar 24-36, for sincere relationship. Photo appreciated. Box 8753.

**GAY SOCIALIST,** warm, witty & wonderful — even cuddly, caring & charming (& very modest), 30s, seeks special friend (21-35), preferably south/west. Photo appreciated. Box 8754.

**GENTLEMAN, 35,** presentable/intelligent, keen to become parent, seeks correspondence with similar-minded female, with view to relationship. Any nationality. All letters answered. Box 8733.

**GRADUATE, WORKING-CLASS,** 45, single, enjoys music, theatre, country walks etc., desires to share these pleasures with sympathetic, unattached female. London/SE best. Box 8750.

**HARD-WORKING WOMAN,**
little time to do whatever one does to meet men in London. You should be around 40, tallish and interesting. Passion for Baroque music not mandatory but would be nice.
**Box 8735**

**HAVE FRECKLES, WILL TRAVEL**
this summer for about three weeks, between 6 July-10 August with cheerful, fit man, 30-40ish. Musing on biking in Eire, finding remoter Spain, or...
**Box 8762**

**HUMOROUS, WARM,** 50 year-old divorced man, urban but with rural inclinations, seeks spontaneous woman for uncomplicated friendship, perhaps in East Anglian area. Box 8768.

**INTELLIGENT, WELL-EDUCATED,** attractive, lively, independent woman seeks decent, interesting, considerate male friends for companionship, outings and happy times. Must like smokers (ten a day), books, food and me; write and let's start from here. Box 8778.

**KIND, CUDDLY** 38 year young Sagittarian divorcee, with two children, misses sharing the simple things of life. Seeks caring, jovial, sincere man, 30-40, for friendship/marriage. Likes include astrology, animals, children and being alive. Returnable photo appreciated. Box 8749.

**LONDON TEACHER,** bright, talkative, reasonably glamorous, 36, many (married) friends, seeks male counterpart to broaden social life. Start by exchanging small photo/life stories? Box 8769.

**LOVELY, WARM,** professional woman, young 42, intelligent, sensitive, funny, leftie, seeks similar male, London area. No assumptions made about nature of relationships, nationality, etc. A.L.A. Box 8765.

**MAN 28,** mature sociology graduate, friendly, though bit inhibited, smoker, eclectic intellectual interests, seeks warm, unattached articulate lady, 21-35 for relationship. Birmingham area. Box 8729.

**MANCHESTER-BASED** writer, 44, divorced, ex-smoker, likes cats, books, films, ideas, wine, seeks slim, pleasant woman, 39ish for mutual support and lasting romance. Box 8790.

**MIDDLE-AGED WATERSPORTS ENTHUSIAST,**
with political and cultural interests, central London based, wants to share stylish life, sunshine and moonlight with outdoor life-loving, 36-50 female. Non-sportives welcome.
**Box 8787.**

**MUSICAL, LITERARY,** Southern lady of uncertain age. Loves animals, gardening, domesticity, people, nature, needs a lovingly kind man, any age under 60. Photo returned. Box 8781.

**NATURIST CLUB** member, London male 35, Brown, respectable, seeks female day club visits, uninvolved friendship, any age, looks. Ideal beginners. Club genuine. Box 8782.

**OPTIMISTIC, ANTI-SEXIST,** non-smoking, affectionate male, 41, seeks humorous woman to share interest in travelling, politics, music, theatre and happiness. North West area. Box 8779.

**PARTNERS INTRODUCTIONS**
designed to introduce you to new, interesting people like yourself
Tiagh-Beag, Dunally Park, Shepperton, Middlesex.
(0932) 231771 daytime
(0932) 231735 evgs/wkends

**PROFESSIONAL ASIAN** male, 40, in open marriage situation seeks relationship. Interests: novels, travel, writing. Planning travel to India in August. London based. Box 8737.

**PROFESSIONAL LIVERPOOL** lady, 51, widow, no ties. Not unhappy or lonely, well only occasionally, wishes befriend professional/business gentleman of integrity. Must be healthy, unattached, fiftyish. Interests: walking, gardening, theatre, entertaining, travel. Box 8757.

**SENSITIVE, STABLE,** solvent man, 43, on his own for a few weeks in London, seeks female companion for visits to concerts, films, country pubs, and to compare notes on life so far. Box 8783.

**SOCIALIST MALE,** 37, West Yorks, divorced, non-academic enjoys music, theatre, reading, walking and sharing in non-sexist, caring relationship, pref. with cuddles and some independence. Box 8776.

**SOUTH AMERICAN** exile, 39, writer, PhD, radical unemployed, shy, depressed and bored, seeks sympathetic, adventurous female to walk him through English desert. Mutual comfort, thrill of secret meetings, cinema, discussions, good food and sex. No strings either way, adventure only. Any age, status, race. Box 8772.

**STRANGER IN** a strange land, needs female (20s) guide to the thrills, spills and excitement of Cardiff. No Social Democrats or disco goers. Box 8766.

**TALL, PROFESSIONAL** male, 53, widowed, slim, attractive, non-smoker, lively and kind, seeks a special female, warm and cuddly, 40-47, to share wide interests. Herts/London. Box 8755.

**TALL, UNATTACHED,** middle class, affable male wanted by 5ft 3in. divorced, quiet non-smoking secretary (53), N. London for stimulating relationship. Box 8087.

**TYNESIDE: MATURE,** cultured man, early thirties, with much to give, looking for no strings affair with intelligent woman. Interested in politics, books, music, conversation. Box 8786.

**WEST SUSSEX**/London based man, 45, good looking, intelligent, empathetic, well adjusted, socialist, seeks lovely 'sympatique', petite female, any nationality, to share the arts/politics, countryside/city, humour, France — and love. Box 8751.

**WIDOWER, 54,** well preserved, 5'11", slim, attractive, Jewish (non-orth), London NW, sincere, middle brow, interested good music, theatre, travel, a home lover, wishes to meet educated, warm, attractive, tallish lady 30-45 yrs. solvent, any status. Preferably Italian, French, Dutch, German or Erse speaking, with sense of humour. For caring relationship/marriage. Genuine replies please with recent photo-exchanged and phone number. Box 8747

**YORKSHIRE: SLIM,** wealthy, professional gentleman, 33, with time on his hands, would love to hear from intelligent, attractive, 20-35 yr-old lady, who appreciates being spoilt. Box 8752.

**YOUNG MAN,** 26, friendly, smart, 6' tall, varied interests, seeks fun-loving female, 18-30, for friendship. Box 8759.

# HOLIDAYS/TRAVEL

**FAMILY HOUSE** with garden and cat, sleeps 4. 21 July-31 August. £90 weekly. 01-267 2579.

**HOSPITALITY AND COMFORT** Welsh Hills. Dinner, B&B £63 pw. Bonner, Bron Fadog, Trefriw, LL27 0QA. Tel. Llanrwst (0492) 640566.

**JOURNEY LATIN AMERICA.** Low cost flights, holiday journeys. 3-6 weeks. JLA, 10 Barleymow Passage, London W4. 01-747 3108.

**MAKE FRIENDS** on our course, 5-10 Aug., in the beautiful Dales countryside. Fitness and relaxation a speciality. Luxurious hotel accom. Only £154 includes bed, breakfast, evening meal, squash, sauna, swimming etc. — a few remaining places. Alpha Course, c/o Burnside, Favordale Road, Colne, Lancashire. 0282 864171.

**CUBA**
*One month holiday,*
including six day tour of Cuba. Departing **2 August,** Half-board, first class hotels.
**Few vacancies, other dates available.**
**Ashley Holidays**
**0709 544083**

**ALBANIA £195 29 Sept-11 Oct**
**Full board 1st class hotel Durres Beach Using the Yugoslav Coast Road.**

**CUBA £488 one week HAVANA**
One week touring CUBA
20 June-6 July, 5-19 July, 19 July-30 Aug.

**PEKING (Nine Days) via MOSCOW (Two Days) £600**
20 Oct.-26 Nov. Using the Trans-Siberian Railway

**MOSCOW by TRAIN £180**
still a few places left on the 14-24 Aug., 28 Aug.-7 Sept. & 4-14 Sept. holidays.

**BLACK SEA by ORIENT EXPRESS**
still places on the 17/27 July & 24 July-3 Aug. holidays

***YORKSHIRE TOURS***
**49 Thornton Lodge Road, Huddersfield HD1 3JQ**
**Phone 0484 24269**


Incorporating 'The Nation', 'The Athenaeum' and 'The Week-end Review'. Registered as a newspaper. Typesetting by Sirron Typesetting, 14a Clerkenwell Green, London EC1R 0DP.
Printed by Benham & Co Ltd, Sheepen Place, Colchester CO3 3LH. Published by The Statesman & Nation Publishing Co. Ltd at 14-16 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU. Second class postage paid at New York NY.
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED